

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 180.—APRIL, 1890.

ART. I.—THE LIBRARY OF THE COMMITTEE OF FOREIGN LEGISLATION IN PARIS.

THE issue, in January 1889, of a revised Catalogue of the Library of the Committee of Foreign Legislation in Paris, is an important event in the history of the progress of Comparative Jurisprudence. The library contains more than 4,000 works, relating to the laws of all the civilized countries in the world, and the continued and sustained efforts of the Committee and its worthy President, M. Leon Aucoc, have given a great impetus to the study of Comparative Law, the results of which will inevitably exercise a considerable influence on English law and legislation. The following is the Report submitted by the President to the Keeper of the Seals, Ministry of Justice, on the 23rd February 1889.

MR. KEEPER OF THE SEALS,

The Committee of Foreign Legislation has the honour to inform you of the state of its labours on the 1st January 1889, and to present you with the second edition of the catalogue of the library which it has established.

The task entrusted to the Committee by the ordinance of M. Dufaure, the Keeper of the Seals, who founded it in 1876, had a double object: firstly, to make a collection of the laws of all countries; and secondly, to translate and publish the more recent codes of other countries, and especially those which might appear to be the most interesting by reason of their scientific value or their practical interest.

The Committee has devoted its utmost energies to the accomplishment of this two-fold task. It believes that it has fulfilled the expectation of its eminent founder, and has made a good

use of the annual grant given to it during the last twelve years by the Chambers, who recognized the benefits which the new institution was calculated to confer. About three years after its creation, the Committee formed a library which even then contained more than 5,000 volumes, and was able to publish the first edition of the catalogue. But the experience which had been acquired, and the relations which had been organised with foreign countries, and which were continually being extended, brought about a new development of the library, and made the Committee feel the necessity for a new edition of the catalogue.

A comparison of the new edition, which we place before you, with that which was published in 1879, clearly shows the considerable additions to the vast collection of foreign law which the Government has placed at the disposal of the public. The catalogue of 1879 contained 1,664 works comprising nearly 5,000 volumes. The new edition contains 4,062 works, comprising more than 18,000 volumes. These works are written in more than thirty languages, not counting dialects. In fine, more than 250 different sets of laws are represented in our collection. In it may be found the laws of Australia and of Ireland, those of Russia and of the Cape of Good Hope, of Japan and of La Plata; there is hardly a blank to be found. Certain republics of South America are only indicated, so to speak; of all the English colonies, New South Wales is the only one of which we have nothing. In short, one can only wish that the place kept for certain laws were more completely filled. Nevertheless, we are able to-day to present you with a catalogue of the whole, no part of which has been neglected.

We owe our acquisitions partly to our systematic purchases and to the vigilance of our librarians, who always keep themselves *au courant* with the newest publications; and partly to the gratitude of authors who present us with the works, the preparation of which has been facilitated by our library; and we are, above all, indebted to the liberality of foreign Governments, with whom we have established a regular system of exchange, to the kind help of the Diplomatic Service, and to the zeal of our official correspondents at the different consulates.

We may be permitted here to offer our thanks to the Ministries of Justice of Belgium and Norway, to M. Ruchonnet, Government Councillor, and Chief of the State Department of Justice and Police at Berne, and to the following gentlemen; M. Hanauer, the present Confidential Adviser and Director of the Imperial Office of Justice in Berlin; M. Dessau, Head of the Office of the Danish Rigsdag; M. Antequera, Secretary to the Commission of Codification at the Ministry of Pardon and Justice in Madrid; M. Ruppert, General Secretary to the Government of the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg; the Chief of the Department of Codification attached to the Council of the

Empire in St. Petersburg ; and lastly, to M. d'Olivecrona, Judge of the Supreme Court of Stockholm.

We are also especially grateful to the Colonial Office in London. At the request of M. Royer, Keeper of the Seals, Sir M. Hicks Beach, Secretary of State, asked the Governors of British Colonies and possessions to send us collections of their legislative acts. We have thus been able to form as complete a series as that which exists in London.

You will easily understand that the catalogue, which I have the honour to offer you to-day, has required a long preparation. Resolved upon in principle by an ordinance passed in 1883 by your predecessor, M. Martin-Feuillée, its completion has been retarded by the constant additions to our collection, which it seemed a pity not to make known in their entirety. Undertaken by M. Amiaud, Joint Secretary of the Committee, now Deputy to the head of the Office of the Ministry, with the active assistance of M. Gonse, then Director of Civil affairs and of the Seal, and now Judge of the Court of Cassation, it has been revised by several members of the Committee. M. Jules Preux, who was appointed librarian in 1885, and M. Emmanuel Reibaud, his assistant, have lent their constant aid in this work, and have shared with M. Amiaud the trouble of correcting the proofs and preparing the tables. The President of the Committee, who considered it his duty to revise the final proofs, must acknowledge the zeal and ability of all his fellow-workers. He is bound also to point out the skill with which the National Press has assisted the execution of this particularly difficult work.

The new catalogue is not a mere supplement to our catalogue of 1879, which was drawn up with great ability by M. Georges Louis, now Sub-Director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and member of the Committee ; it has been entirely recast. We were of opinion that it would be far better to renew entirely the work done ten years ago, and so to present a complete work of symmetry and method, which should supersede and take the place of the preceding edition. We have also considered it better to modify the plan adopted before.

The present catalogue includes a general division, in which are collected the philosophy of law, the legislative measures of ancient and mediæval times, ecclesiastical law, as well as political economy and statistics. We have intentionally restricted this preliminary division to works which cannot be ignored : our library is of the present time rather than historical, and we have been unwilling to add to the domain (already so vast) of pure law, the extensive domain of political sciences. The first part of the catalogue is devoted to public and private international law ; the second to comparative legislation ; the third, which is the largest, to existing laws. The different

countries are arranged in alphabetical order. A very small place has been given to French law, as we did not consider it would be useful to make a collection of works, which one is sure to find in the National Library, or in that of the University of Law, or in that of the Bar : but we have been anxious to make as complete a collection as possible of Algerian and Colonial legislation.

Finally, the catalogue is completed by an appendix containing works of reference and dictionaries, and by three tables. One, the table of contents, is placed at the beginning of the volume ; the second, an alphabetical table of the names of authors, and the third, a general index are placed at the end. The most important documents concerning the history of the Committee have also been added.

Speaking broadly, the catalogue does not contain works, whether periodical reviews or reports of laws, of a later date than the 31st December 1887. As for treatises and commentaries, those which have appeared in 1887 and 1888 have, with a few exceptions, been excluded. The new catalogue is not, then, a strictly accurate description of the works which we possess at the present moment. Among the most recent publications with which we have been enriched, and which we have been prevented from including by the necessity for not altering the setting up of the pages, must be mentioned as the most important, the scheme of a Civil Code for the German Empire, the Spanish Civil Code, the Civil Code of Montenegro, and various Mexican Codes. To our extreme regret we have been unable to include in this catalogue a large collection of codes and legislative documents of British India, which we owe to the generosity and the very great kindness of Mr. S. Harvey James, Secretary to the Government of India in the Legislative Department, with whom we have had the good fortune to be placed in communication, thanks to the introduction and good offices of Mr. H. A. D. Phillips, Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal. Nor must we omit to mention, among our new acquisitions, the laws and Parliamentary papers of the State of Pennsylvania, which we owe to the courtesy of M. Egle, librarian of that State. Lastly, M. Appert, Professor in the Paris University of Law, has obtained for us from Japan a very interesting collection of Japanese laws in the language of the country. These new correspondents, as our older correspondents, may claim our warmest gratitude.

We are firmly confident that, thanks to them, and thanks to the constant aid of the consulates and public powers, our work, so well commenced, will not rest here. We hope to see our collection increase from day to day. Moreover, the Committee proposes, with your approval, to publish every year a supplement to the present catalogue. If the first supplement

were to appear to-day, it would include not less than about 700 works received or purchased in 1887 or 1888. We hope also that the publication of this catalogue will lead to a marked increase in the number of readers who profit by our library.

It is already very much frequented by *savants*, who no longer publish any works of law without some notice of the laws of other countries, by professors, by students who are preparing their thesis for the degree of law, by advocates, notaries, and bankers, who are seeking for accurate legal information, either for the purposes of their business in foreign countries, or for suits pending before French tribunals, in which foreign law has to be applied. The Government and the members of the Chambers frequently have recourse to the library for the preparation of laws.

The institution of Assistants to the Committee, who are always ready to furnish information or translations for the laws of those countries which they have especially studied, is calculated to enhance considerably the usefulness of the library.

We hope that the foreign statesmen or jurisconsults, who come this year to visit our Universal Exhibition, will devote a few moments to study the management of an institution, which up to date has been imitated in one country only, Spain. They will doubtless find their works on the shelves of our library, and our Secretaries will be happy to give them the most hearty reception, and lend them the most devoted assistance.

The second part of the Committee's work, Mr. Minister, is the collection of the translations of foreign codes. It has proceeded less rapidly than the formation of the library. For this there are two reasons: the Committee was of opinion that it ought to devote primarily to the purchase of books the greater part of the grant allotted by the Chambers. On the other hand, it believed that, in order to possess a permanent utility, these translations ought to be maturely studied, and accompanied by introductions and notes showing clearly the salient features of former legislation, the preliminary correspondence connected with the new codes, and the character and reasons for the amendments of the old law. Elaborate works, under such circumstances, could not be hurriedly prepared; but if they are yet few in number, they have acquired a real authority in foreign countries, and, at international congresses of jurists, such and such a translation of the Committee has been quoted in the same way as the original text.

Our collection of foreign codes now consists of ten volumes. They are the following translations:—

The German Code of Commerce, and the German Law of Exchange, by MM. Gide, Charles Lyon Caen, J. Flach and J. Dietz (1881).

The Penal Code of Holland of the 3rd March 1881, by M. Wintgens (1883).

The German Code of Criminal Procedure of the 1st February 1877, by M. Dubarle, two volumes (1885).

The Colonial Charters and Constitutions of the United States of North America, by M. Gourd, two volumes, (1885).

The Hungarian Penal Code of Crimes and Delicts of the 28th May 1878, and the Hungarian Penal Code of Contraventions of the 14th June 1879, by MM. Pierre Dareste and Martinet (1885).

The Code of Civil Procedure of the German Empire of the 30th January 1877, by MM. Glasson, Lederlin, and Dareste (1887).

The English Bankruptcy Law of 1883, by M. Charles Lyon-Caen (1889).

Two more volumes will shortly appear ; one is the translation of the most recent Code of Commerce, namely, the Portuguese Code of 1888 ; the other, that of the laws of the principal foreign countries concerning literary and artistic copyright. Besides these, several other translations of the codes of Austria, Italy, Russia, and of different States of America have been decided upon in principle, and are in active preparation.

Such, Mr. Minister, is the present stage of the labours of the Committee of Foreign Legislation. I am confident that these labours will appear worthy of your approbation.

Be so good as to accept, Mr. Minister, the assurances of my highest esteem.

LEON AUCOC,

*President of the Committee of Foreign Legislation,
and Member of the Institute."*

There are one or two other reports in connection with the Library. One deals with the appointment of assistants, whose duty it is, on request, to help persons to find the books they require, and to aid them with their advice and knowledge. It was found necessary to appoint such men, as of course, numbers resort to the library who are not conversant with the languages in which the foreign laws are written. These assistants are not supposed to exercise a public function, nor have they any permanent title to their posts. They are chosen annually, and their duties do not impose any additional charge on the State, as those who use them have to give them remuneration according to a tariff which is fixed up in the library. As these assistants are selected for their special knowledge of the subjects they profess, the benefit to those who resort to the library is very great. There are at present three assistants for German law, five (one an English Barrister) for the laws of England, Scotland and Ireland, four for Austria, two each for the United States, Italy, and Spain, and one each for Belgium, Croatia, Hungary, Luxembourg, Montenegro, Holland, the Scandinavian Countries (Denmark, Sweden, and

Norway), Portugal, German Switzerland, and French Switzerland. The library is open every day, except Saturday and Sunday, from 1 P. M. to 5 P. M. Books must be consulted there, and cannot be taken out.

The wealth of legal literature in the library, and the enormous extent of range and variety, may be inferred from the divisions, sub-divisions, heads, and sub-heads, under which the books are grouped. The General Part consists of natural law and the Philosophy of law, Ecclesiastical law, the laws of Antiquity and of the Middle Ages, Political and Statistical Economy, Geography, and Miscellaneous. The First Part deals with International law, and is divided into general works, Public International law, Criminal International law, and private International law. The Second Part comprises Comparative Legislation, and is divided into general works, Public and Administrative law, Judicial Organisation and Procedure, Criminal law, Civil law, Commercial and Industrial law, and the law of Literary, Artistic, and Industrial Property. Public and Administrative law are again sub-divided into nine heads, namely, general political organisation, Church and State, Finance, Public Instruction, Public Assistance, Social questions, Local Administration, and Miscellaneous.

The Third Part deals with the laws of modern States, and a portion at least of the laws of the following countries are contained in the library :—

Germany.
Andorre Valley.
Argentine Confederation.
Austria-Hungary.
Belgium.
Bolivia.
Brazil.
Chili.
China.
Costa-Rica.
Denmark.
Egypt.
Spain.
United States.
France.
Great Britain.
British Colonies & Possessions.
Greece.
Guatemala.
Hayti.
Sandwich Islands
Honduras.

Italy.
Japan.
Luxemburg (Grand Duchy.)
Madagascar.
Mexico.
Monaco.
Free State of Orange.
The Netherlands.
Pérou.
Persia.
Portugal.
Roumania.
Russia.
Saint Marin (Republic.)
Salvador (Republic)
Serbia.
Sweden and Norway.
Switzerland.
Turkey.
Uruguay.
Venezuela.

Under the head of Germany are grouped the laws of twenty-six States, of which one is Prussia. Under the head of Prussia again, are the local or provincial laws of thirteen different provinces, Pomerania, Posen, Westphalia, Rhenish Prussia, Hanover, &c. Under the head of Austria, we have, besides the general law, the provincial laws of High and Low Austria, Bohemia, Boukovnia, Carinthia, Cracovia, Dalmatia, Galicia, Moravia, Duchy of Salzburg, Silesia and Styria.

The English people are just beginning to awake to the fact—they are not fully awake to it yet—that the cry against over-legislation* is the cry of the interested conservative English lawyer, who does not want the law to be made certain and easily understood of the people,—the English lawyer, who is prejudiced in favour of his own system, because he knows no other, and does not wish to be forced to learn any other.

The English lawyer is strangely inconsistent. He questions the advantage of any reference to, or quotations of the laws of other countries; and yet when he is on the Bench in India, administering, or supposed to be administering Indian law, nothing delights him more than to quote English decided cases; and this he does, even when those cases are, perhaps, diametrically opposed to the perspicuous sections of the code which he is legally bound to administer.

The Barrister Judge in India sneers at the Civilian Judge and the Bengali Vakil Judge, because they know little or no English law. It must be admitted that the sneer is not altogether undeserved. Again, the Civilian Judge is apt to disparage the Barrister Judge, because the latter has but an imperfect acquaintance with the vast body of Indian law, and is innocent of land tenure, revenue, and rent laws. It must be admitted that the disparagement is not altogether unreasonable. Judges of the highest courts in India should know both English and Indian law, but especially the latter. If it is permissible to quote English cases, then why is it not permissible to quote American or French cases? Take criminal procedure, for instance; the spirit of several continental codes on this subject is very much in accord with Indian criminal procedure, whereas the ruling principles and spirit of English law have been antagonistic to the provisions of the Indian codes. Happily English criminal law has, of recent years, been made more rational, and deprived of many of its marvellous technicalities. The reports afford remarkable instances of Indian Judges quoting the remarks

* As to India, we think the procedure codes, especially the Civil Procedure, are far too elaborate. They should be simplified. At the same time the country gets too little of the sort of substantive law it requires.

of English judges on certain criminal offences, when the plain words of the section in the Indian Code show that the law is different to the English law, and a reference to the Report of the Commissioners would show, that the Indian law was intentionally made different to the English law. It may be said that Indian Judges quote English law, because lawyers always like to quote something, and English law is the only law they can quote. That is true, but if they could quote other laws, they might do so. English law is foreign law in India, and if one foreign law may be quoted, why not another? Of course there are some subjects in which English law is, to a great extent, administered; but it seems absurd to quote the English law of Landlord and Tenant in administering Tenancy Acts in India, for the one law is diametrically opposed to the other. It would have been far better for the country, for instance, if the rules about buildings, and land let for buildings had been based more on the custom of the country and less on the law obtaining in England.

Those who allege that it is of no use to study the laws of other countries, are those who have never made such study. They are surely not competent to express an opinion, or at any rate, not a decided opinion. A man who has never tasted a plaintain or an olive, cannot be certain that he will not like them. A man cannot describe the properties and uses of a thing he knows nothing about, and has never seen. On the other hand, those who have made the smallest beginnings in the study of any branch of comparative legislation, readily admit its advantages. "*Ars longa, vita brevis*," the practising lawyer may say, "it is quite enough to get to know something of the law of one country."—True; but what does the moralist go on to say—*experimentum lubricum, judicium difficile*. If there is one thing that renders experiment less uncertain, it is a wide range of knowledge, an *enormous number* of experiments. If there is one thing that renders a decision less difficult, it is a knowledge of the decisions which statesmen and legislators of other countries have come to in exactly similar, or nearly similar sets of circumstances. It is surely illogical to use the material products of other countries, and to sneer at their mental products: to indulge our palates and appetites with their wines and fruits and ignore their literature and laws. Nor, indeed, is this done in any branch of knowledge except law, and then only by the English lawyer. Philosophers, historians, poets, painters are only too eager to learn what they can from their *confrères* in other countries. But the study of English law only seems to have a narrowing tendency; this has been remarked by several English lawyers, and there must be some truth in it, because some of the greatest judges in England have,

from time to time, been the keenest opponents of the most moderate legal reforms. The English lawyer has always been desirous of preserving his own system against the inroads of reformers. It has been a very arduous task to rid the English criminal law of its worst absurdities and technicalities, and this fact is probably owing to the presence of so many English lawyers in the House of Commons. Each new reform is shrieked at until it is effected, and then even lawyers themselves wonder why it was not effected fifty years before. See how many years it has taken to remove the numerous restrictions on the competency of witnesses. How many years more will elapse before the wisdom and justice of examining an accused person is more widely recognized? When will the rules as to the exclusion of hearsay evidence be done away with or modified. This exclusion of hearsay evidence has done incalculable mischief in India. Hearsay evidence has always been admitted in the Court of Chancery, where judges sit without juries. The rules were only made for ignorant juries, and not for trained Magistrates and Judges sitting alone. Surely the latter can be trusted to pick out the wheat from the chaff, and to attach only such importance to hearsay evidence as it may be worth; and that it is often worth something, is universally admitted. No doubt, in admitting hearsay evidence, we get a good deal of useless quartz; but, by a rule of rigid exclusion, we lose not only the quartz, but the scattered nuggets of gold also. It is painful to see an ignorant Indian villager caught up and stopped, while he is telling his story in his own natural way; he gets bewildered and confused, and the cause of justice suffers. Parts of the witness's story may be irrelevant, but they may lead up to other relevant facts and statements. If the witness is checked and confused, all is lost, relevant and irrelevant alike.

A man may, perhaps, deny the utility of the study of comparative law and jurisprudence, without being accounted prejudiced, before an audience of English lawyers, enamoured of their own system and saturated with insular prejudices; but if he were to make such denial before an audience of German, French, or Italian lawyers, he would be writ down as a lunatic or an ass. It may be argued that the Judges of the highest Courts in India have only had the ordinary narrow education in law, and that it is of no use for practising lawyers to devote any attention to comparative law, if the Judges before whom they practise know nothing about it. This is surely a narrow view to take. The very ignorance of the Judges would surely strengthen the position of the Barrister, and give him greater weight and authority. If a knowledge of comparative law gives more breadth of view, a greater

grasp of principles, and powerful weapons of argument to the practising lawyer, such a knowledge is even more indispensable for the Bench. Its value to the historian, the jurist, the statesman, and the legislator needs no demonstration. With the advancement of civilization, development of communications, and increased facilities for travel, countries are coming nearer to one another, and the tendency is for the laws of civilized nations to become more and more alike. Educated people are becoming more cosmopolitan ; and the time has long passed away when any one country can affect to despise the laws, manners, and customs of other countries, or can stigmatize as " barbarians " all other nations than themselves.

H. A. D. PHILLIPS.

[INDEPENDENT SECTION.]

ART. II.—SCEPTIC SCIOMACHY.

“I have sworn by myself, the word is gone out of my mouth in righteousness, and shall not return, that unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear.”—Isaiah, xlv, v. 23.

“I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all unto me.”—John, xii, v. 32.

SHOULD any person have read the essay on Positivism in the July and October numbers of this Review, he will doubtless have understood the object of the method adopted therein.

Apology is hardly needed for returning to this subject. The *Calcutta Review* is intended for the discussion of matters of public interest, and what can have greater public interest than the future of mankind? This future, Christianity alone pretends to reveal, and the manner of discussing this is to enquire temperately whether the revelation is reasonable, and to examine the objections made against it.

Objections to Christianity are, in one direction, best met by showing them to be unscientific, in another direction by proving that what the objectors are combating are mere shadows of their own minds' throwing. To this last phrase exception cannot be justly taken, for educated men of the present day must not plead the misrepresentations or miscomprehensions of others in matters which are open to their own examination.

Christ has taught, writes Mr. Vincent Tymm, in 'The Mystery of God,' "not merely that men have a right to use their faculties independently in the pursuit of truth, but that it is their duty to do so, and that they are responsible to God for the due discharge of this most primary obligation." It is certainly every man's business to endeavour to understand God's revelation as shown forth in His universe, as given in the teaching of His messengers, as found in the reported words and acts of 'the man who is God's fellow' (Zech ; XIII. 7) To do this he may doubtless avail himself of assistance from other men's minds. But surely we have no more right to raise objections to the revelation on another's presentation of it, than we have to shirk the obligation of personal inquiry in another way, by delivering over our own minds in bondage to those of others—a process which leads to the acceptance of Dogmas of Infallibility.

(2) Sufficient has been said in the former essay to show that objectors against Christianity have in their objections

neglected the teachings of science, on which they elsewhere profess reliance. But the other position, viz., that what they object to is something else than the Christian religion, needs further development.

The contentions of the above mentioned essay were—

1.—That the fundamental principles of the Christian religion are consonant with the reason granted to us whereby to understand those principles—as its evidences are with science and with the analogy of nature ; in other words, with the revelation of God in His universe.

2.—That what is not consistent with that reason and that revelation cannot be necessary to the Christian religion.

3.—That both direct revelation and the revelation of science are seen to have been progressive from the earliest times, and to be still progressing ; and that to reject what truth we have, on the ground of its incompleteness, and on the ground of errors in its interpretation, is as unreasonable as it would be to reject the theory of gravitation because it does not meet all difficulties, or the theory of light because Newton supported a mistaken view of that theory.

(3) There has been only one man on this earth who has ever grasped the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, namely, its Founder. On Him, even, the revelation evidently came only by degrees ; and yet He possessed faculties whereby to grasp it such as no other human being has ever yet possessed, though He has promised eventually, as God, to communicate those faculties to His kind. For the comprehension of those principles, then, we must evidently turn to such record as we have of His views regarding them. Always, however, remembering that the enunciation of those views was hampered by the imperfection of human faculties of expression, and the apprehension of them by the imperfection of human understanding ; and, moreover, that the record of them is vitiated by all the infirmities of the human nature of the reporters and transcribers through whom the record has reached us. Also that the revelation of God is progressive and infinite, and that we may therefore venture to infer that it was not complete even to the man Jesus—in His humanity.

This delicate question was touched upon in paragraphs 48 to 52 of the former essay. It was, indeed, more fully faced in a portion of that essay, which was subsequently excised, as it was felt that such a subject needs an essay to itself. This is the subject now proposed to be dealt with.

(4.) Before considering the question of how much was known to Jesus Christ, in His humanity, of “ the mystery which hath been hid from ages and from generations ;” of “ the eternal purpose” which, in His Godhead, He purposed with the Father ;

it will be well to summarise the most advanced views of that mystery, as the writer understands them to be held, and as it was attempted to develop them in the former essay :—

1. That man is the head of the organic kingdom by gradual ascent from whatever was the earliest form of matter, which itself is an emanation from God in that it is an embodiment of His will :

2. that, as such, man would cease to exist whenever matter ceased to exist :

3. but that matter, having since its creation ascended thus up to man through the various kingdoms, has completed the circle, and has been taken again into the Godhead in the person of The Man, whom all his kind are to follow in that stage of evolution—doubtless through many intermediate processes :

4. that matter, in the stage of man, can no more achieve any process of this evolution automatically, than, in its inorganic stage, it can achieve the evolution into the organic kingdom. The higher kingdom has to stretch down and take it up, and there is no free will in the matter, so far as regards the member of the lower kingdom thus promoted :

5. that, in analogy with the process of translation from the inorganic to the organic kingdom, the life *has* so stooped down—the spiritual life from the spiritual kingdom—the man Jesus being the incarnation of that condescension. And as the roots of a plant draw up inorganic matter into life, absorbing that matter into itself, so the Central Love has thus drawn up manhood into itself, *viz*, The Man, and the mankind of which That Man is the *Alpha* and the *Omega* :

6. that this process is certain, universal, gradual ; that the apparent failures are part of the process, and are no more real failures than the apparent failures in the workings of the visible universe. And that the organic matter so acted upon has no more to do with either the promotion or the ‘putting back’ in the course of its evolution into spiritual life, than the inorganic matter drawn up by the plant has to do with its evolution into natural life, and its subsequent dissolution and return to the inorganic kingdom—whence to be again evolved into organic life.

(5.) Those who rest their objections to the Christian religion on the ‘believe or be damned’ presentation of it, most unjustly take the ill-considered utterances of ignorant, if well-meaning men, as representing the tenets of that religion. Our Church’s view regarding man’s impotence towards his evolution into the higher life is, however, clearly expressed in the Tenth Article, and also in the Collects, notably those for the second Sunday in Lent, for Easter Day, for the fourth Sunday after Easter, and, especially, that for the nineteenth Sunday after Trinity. It is

expressly asserted by the Church, in the Tenth Article, that faith, that the very turning to God and the inclination and power to call upon Him, must be the gift of God, and is no matter of free-will. How, then, can it be supposed to be a tenet of Christianity that, as John the Baptist is represented as saying (John III, 36), where God has not yet bestowed that faith, that inclination, that power, He will nevertheless show wrath, for not believing on and turning to Him, against those who, until that gift of faith and inclination is bestowed, *cannot* (Matt. XI, 27, Luke X, 22 ; John VI. 44 and 65, believe on, and turn to Him ?

This would be to make the God of the Christians a devil, not a God, an enemy, not a Father. Isaiah knew better than this and cried : "Doubtless thou art our father ; thou, O Lord, art our father, our Redeemer ; thy name is from everlasting." And if John the Baptist ever did make such a statement as is above referred to, it only shows that John, like Jonah and other holy men in ancient and modern times, was unable to rise to the height of God's love, and interpreted Him according to his own imperfect human nature.

(6) What, then, is the case, according to the Christian religion, of those on whom God has not yet bestowed faith and the power to turn to Himself? On this point our Church, though still admitting into its Liturgy the damnatory clauses of the Creed, unjustly termed Athanasian, has in its Articles committed itself to no expression of views—and objectors have certainly no right to accept, as the view of Christian men generally, the ill weighed opinions of certain among them. Let all men judge for themselves. If it is only by the power of God that we can believe in Him and turn to Him ; and if, as is certainly a Christian tenet, there is no life save in Him—then what follows from what is also certainly the Christian tenet, that God is Love, that He hates nothing that He has made, nor would have the death of a sinner, but rather that he be converted and live (third collect for Good Friday), and from the Christian tenet that God is Almighty? Surely what follows is that the power to believe on Him and turn to Him *will* be given to all. In the words of the Master quoted by St. John, "God sent not his son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved." (John III, 17 ; see also John XII, 47).

(7). Of course it stands to reason that the world in its present form cannot be "saved," that is, cannot re-enter the Divinity. "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither doth corruption inherit incorruption." Matter must of necessity have its form changed in order to enter a higher state. The rock, for instance, must be desintegrated, absorbed, born again into the life of the plant. The man Jesus grasped by intuition

this fact, now known to us scientifically under guidance of the Spirit of the God Jesus, when He said to Nicodemus "that which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit. Marvel not that I said unto thee, ye must be born again";—that "it is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing";—that no man can ascend up to heaven, or enter the spiritual kingdom, otherwise than as part of the spiritual man who came down from that kingdom to take the natural man into himself (John III. 13). It was for this purpose that Jesus was sent, that in Him His kind might so be born again—"that the world through him might be saved."

And how saved? It stands to reason that the natural man must be purged of his sin, of his imperfection, (Heb. I, 3), to permit of this incorporation with the spiritual man. It is the 'law of consequences' which is stated in Luke XII, 47 and 48, in words suited to the minds of that day. Sin is the accepted term for the imperfection inherent in the present stage of evolution. By a known law this has a consequence of suffering attached to it—suffering which must be tending to its purgation and cure (as understood in the Roman Catholic doctrine of purgatory) or else the suffering would be meaningless, and the law would be mere arbitrary cruelty. There *must* be stripes for sin. The imperfection of its nature causes the child to fall, and pain ensues. The imperfection of his nature causes man to fall, and suffering is the consequence. This is not mere wantonness of arbitrary power; there is a wise meaning in the law, though our purblind vision cannot always see it. Only love and faith can enable us to perceive that, God being love, this consequence of suffering *must* be for the cure of that imperfection from which it results. That it is for the *punishment* of the imperfection is a view not only inconsonant with reason, but also inconsistent with love and faith.

This law of consequences reached its utmost exposition on the Cross. Was Christ *punished* for the imperfection of his kind, or did he undertake the consequence of that imperfection in suffering and death, and achieve for them the utmost effect of that consequence, namely, the final purging of the imperfection? (Heb: I, 3).

(8). Does any one who recognises an Almighty God, seriously believe that His plans can fail? Can any one suppose that He has sworn by Himself that every knee shall bow to Him, every tongue swear to Him (Isaiah XLV, 23, and Phil: II, 9-11); that His Son has undertaken, in his crucifixion, to draw *all* unto Himself; (John XII, 32); and yet that this shall not be so? To believe this involves the supposition of some power capable of crossing God's purposes. This must

be either a power independent of God, which is inconsistent with His all-might, or must be a power bestowed by God—a power bestowed by Him on man or devil for the express purpose of thwarting Himself—which is surely absurd. If neither of these suppositions can be entertained, then the only remaining hypothesis is, that God plans to fail, that He creates to destroy,—which is the hypothesis of *Umar Ibn Khayyám*, but is certainly not one to be entertained by reasonable beings now.

Therefore it is that St. Paul expresses in the following words the sum of the Christian faith regarding 'the mystery of God's will according to his good pleasure which he hath purposed in Himself;' namely, "that in the dispensation of the fulness of times He might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth."

(9). It may be asked, 'how then about the manifest failures?' To which the reply is, 'who has seen the failures?' Does any one seriously suppose that the whole of a man's life is concentrated into the span which we can observe? Is it so as regards the rest of the universe? A meteor flits through the atmosphere, bursts, and as far as we can see, its course is finished. But science knows better. A blossom falls from a tree and rots. Is that the end of it? Why the very carcase which once contained a man is absolutely imperishable while matter exists. It is bound by the laws of the universe to renew itself through the inorganic kingdom into the life of the organic kingdom; and if this is the case with the natural body, how much more so with the spiritual body, after its separation from what, for the time being, was its envelope! Certainly, if there were no spiritual body in the envelope; if, during the space of the animal life, the spirit which comes (as the Master said) like the wind comes, had not breathed upon those dry bones that they might live (Ezek: XXXVII, 5 and 9); if the life from the spiritual kingdom had *not* stretched down to take up the man from the organic kingdom into itself; then the case does not arise. The animal has remained animal till its dissolution, or rather resolution into other forms of matter and subsequent life. Doubtless, when these again attain the highest point of the organic kingdom, in the shape of man, the deferred promotion will occur. Of these matters, says the Preacher (Eccles: XI, 5), we can know nothing; but from the analogy of nature, and from faith in the loving Father who has ordered its laws, we can infer much, and this much may safely be said—that the spiritual life should become extinct like organic life, that the spiritual body should be dissolved and 'put back' like the natural body, is inconceivable.

The member of the organic kingdom may, and does descend into the inorganic kingdom again, with the certainty of restoration by evolution. It does not perish, but it is put back. Much less can the member of the spiritual kingdom perish, but can it be put back? Can the spiritual life become extinct, the spiritual body dissolve and be put back to work up again through organic life? Such is the doctrine of metempsychosis, but to Christians it is inconceivable, because they hold that the spiritual body is a member of Christ's body, and has accomplished in Him a stage of evolution from which there is no 'putting back.'

(10.) Once in the Spiritual Kingdom, then, always in the Spiritual Kingdom. But, as in the organic kingdom cycles on cycles are needed for evolution to perfection—from the monad for instance, to the perfect animal 'man' that may be reached in the distant future—so it may be in the Spiritual Kingdom. So, indeed, it *must* be in the Spiritual Kingdom, for can it be supposed that mere release from the grossness of our present condition will raise us straight to the stature of the fulness of Christ? Does not analogy rather point to the probability of evolution being endless? We spring from the grub stage to that of the butterfly, the beauty-fly, but even that beauty is, as we know, but a stage of development. "It doth not yet appear," writes St. John, "what we shall be." All that we do know for certain is, that we shall rise from height to height until we are "like Him" who is 'the brightness of God's glory and the express image of His person.'

(11.) That any finite intellect should fully understand the mind of Him whose "judgments are unsearchable and his ways past finding out" is of course out of the question. But undoubtedly one mind, that of the man Jesus, did obtain, by the intuition of faith and love, extraordinary insight into "the mystery which hath been hid from ages and from generations." Undoubtedly also great insight therein was communicated to his immediate followers by the Spirit which he sent to them after resuming His Divinity. It is for objectors to make sure how this mystery was understood by those minds, by the man Jesus and by His apostles; and to consider it in the light of the further revelation afforded by the progressive teaching of that Spirit in the observation of God's works.

(12.) But first of all, as said in para. 48 of the former essay, it is necessary to realise, to impress upon our minds again and again, that while on earth, Jesus the Christ *was a man*. That he was a man infinitely superior to ourselves is indicated by the method of his entering into the world, and is shown by the manner of his life and of his death—but still he was *man*. That he possessed faculties of love, faith and intuition

transcendently beyond our own, is evident from his words and from His works—but still He was *man*. He was so regarded by His contemporaries. He was so spoken of by the prophets who preceded and by the apostles who followed Him. (Acts II, 22 and 36; Acts V, 30 and 31; Acts X, 38; Acts XIII, 23 and 38; Phil: II, 8; Hebrews III 3 and Hebrews V, 7, 8 and 9.) He lived and moved and ate and drank and felt sorrow and pleasure and pain and all emotions like His fellow-men. He was 'tempted at all points like as they are.' He was a sympathising member of their society. He was, in fact, what He called Himself, the Son of Man, "crucified through weakness," (II Cor: XIII, 4)—not the Deity in disguise. Let those who wish to see Him as nearly as possible as He was on earth, and who cannot so see Him in the gospels, from the difficulty in separating the present Human from the future Divine—let those read that marvellous effort of realisation called 'Philochristus, or The memoirs of a disciple of the Lord.' They will therein see Jesus of Nazareth very much probably as His contemporaries saw Him.

What He was before His human birth we can accept by faith. What He is since His death we know by His own statements, and those of His apostles (*e g.* Acts V, 31), after His resurrection. But that during His lifetime on earth He was *man* is a precious truth, without full grasp of which the significance and comfort of His mission is lost to us (Hebrews II, 17 and 18; Hebrews III, 1-6; Hebrews IV, 14 to V. 9; Hebrews VII, 22-26 and Hebrews VIII, 1-4,) and without full realization of which Christianity must always present difficulties insuperable. How, then, being man, did that Jew of the first century learn what he had been, and what He would be, and what was the task for which He was born into the world? Evidently he was learning this throughout His lifetime, having begun when His faculties were sufficiently developed to read and meditate (Luke II, 40-52), and progressing under the stern teaching of temptation (Hebrews II, 18), of disappointment and sorrow (Hebrews V, 8), until upon the Cross, the last revelation was borne in upon His mind that "it is finished."

That He was omniscient, then, at any period during His lifetime, is not to be supposed, any more than that He was omnipotent. Had He been so He would have been God, not "Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you" (Acts II, 22). Indeed, He expressly disclaims both attributes (see among other passages, John V, 19, and VII, 28 and VIII, 28). It is the Father who knows and who reveals in part; it is the Father who can do all things, and what He shows to His Son, His Son does. He is the man "whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world," and who has therefore the right to

call Himself "the Son of God" (John X, 36.) It is only after the resurrection that He says "all power is given unto me in heaven and in earth," (Matt: XXVIII., 18). Vast, indeed, was this revelation of knowledge and power made to the man Jesus, such as was to be apprehended by no other son of man,—but not complete, for that would have been incompatible with the Son's humanity. It is only when humanity re-enters the Divinity from whence it came, that it is capable of apprehending the Divinity completely.

(13.) Herein would seem to be the explanation of recorded utterances such as those in Matthew's gospel—VII, 21-23; X, 32, 33; XII, 31, 32, 36, 37; XIII, 37-43, 48-50; XXV, 31-46; XXVII, 46: in Mark's gospel—III, 28, 29; VIII, 38; XV, 34: in Luke's gospel—IX, 26; XII, 8-10 and 47 and 48; XIII, 24-28; XIX, 27: and in John's gospel* V, 29; VIII, 44; XIII, 18; XVII, 9;—if we suppose those utterances to have been correctly reported and to be correctly understood.† It was a Jew of the first century speaking; a man, certainly who spake as "never man spake"—but who yet spoke as a man, and with only such knowledge of His Father's will as His Father had so far revealed to Him.

Shrink as we may, as indeed those brought up in the traditions of the Church of England must shrink, from facing a question like this, it has to be faced. As said in para. 50 of the former essay, it is useless to bring to the world the "glad tidings of great joy" that God has become man for the salvation of men; that He has "abolished death" in giving "himself a ransom for all;" that "God hath not appointed us to wrath but to obtain salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ," who has blotted out "the hand writing of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his Cross"; that we are "complete in him" in whom it pleased the Father that all fullness should dwell, and "having made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself; by him, I say, whether they be things in earth or things in heaven":—it is useless to bring men these tidings, dwelling on "the love of Christ which passeth knowledge," from which "neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor

* John III. 18-21, is not included, as these appear to be the words of John, not of Jesus—though given in continuation of the Master's speech to Nicodemus.

† It has been suggested in the previous essay, and further argued in the previous paragraph (7), that Luke XII, 47 and 48, does *not* bear the meaning generally accepted. The stripes of which our Lord speaks, whether many or few, cannot mean *punishment* (which would be unjust and absurd if men are not free agents capable of opposing their Father) but, like those which the speaker Himself was to bear for the imperfection of His kind, must be part of a tender process of purifying, refining and perfecting of our imperfection.

depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us,"—while insisting on the above quoted utterances of the Master as being absolute, in their accepted sense. "For it is God who worketh in you both to will and to do of his own good pleasure," and "no man can come unto me except the Father which hath sent me draw him"; therefore He who "is not come to destroy men's lives but to save them" cannot possibly—as those quoted utterances would seem to say—refuse a share in His completed work to those lost ones whom He "is come to seek and to save"; and He can only have "concluded them all in unbelief that he might have mercy upon all".

(14) These contradictions must be faced, then, for much human misery has arisen from the conception of an arbitrary unjust Omnipotence instead of an all-wise all-loving Father. Is it an unreasonable hypothesis that they arise from the humanity of our Lord—from the fact that it was not the God Jesus speaking with perfect consciousness of His own eternal purpose, but the man Jesus, the Jewish teacher of the first century, addressing a stiff-necked and besotted generation, enclosed in a rhinoceros hide of stupidity and spiritual pride? It evidently was such a man who prayed for deliverance in the garden of Gethsemane; evidently a *man* who spoke of obtaining from His Father more than twelve legions of angels for protection from the Jews—not the God by whom and in whom Jews and angels and the universe subsist. It evidently was such a man who conceived of his second coming in the terms of Daniel VII, 13, and of Zechariah XII, 10. It evidently was a *man* whose power to heal depended on the measure of faith bestowed by His Father on those whose ills needed health. It was a man who wept at Lazarus's tomb. It was a Jew of the first century who regarded as possession of the devil what is now known to be physical disease, and who spoke of the devil in the terms of John VIII, 44. It was *the man* who on the cross lost hold for a moment of the knowledge of his own Divinity, and who, in the moment of death, commended, as man, His spirit into the hands of His Father. Is it, then, too much to assume that it was as *man* that Jesus of Nazareth quoted from Isaiah LXVI, 24, regarding the fate of the wicked; and that He conceived, as a Jew of that day might conceive of His future attitude, after resuming His Divinity, towards those who rejected Him?

This explanation would not, of course, apply after Christ's resurrection; but there can be little doubt that the only passage in which He is reported as then speaking after the manner of men—*viz.*, Mark XVI, 16, is spurious. For we see that, even while still in the flesh, the man Jesus, in the last stage of completing obedience to the Father's law regarding the means of

perfecting humanity, did realise that the imperfection of His enemies was to be perfected by Him, not punished ("Father forgive them for they know not what they do"). Also we see, from His promise to the criminal at His side, that He understood that this perfection of His species was then on the point of commencement. That He subsequently, when the brain, the medium of conception, was failing under approaching physical dissolution, lost the knowledge of Himself and of His accomplished task, and uttered the bitter cry—only shows that He was *man* to the last.

(15.) Is it to be supposed, then, that the sons of men have, in this 19th century, a better knowledge of the Father's will than the man Jesus had? Will they have better knowledge still in the 29th century? If the question be more fairly stated, *viz.*, whether or not the revelation made to us by the man Jesus has since continuously progressed, then the answer cannot be doubtful. It was promised by the prophetic insight of Jesus himself that such should be the case. Revelations of God's glory which are familiar to us in the present day were evidently not known to Jesus in his humanity—could not indeed have been known to Him if He were then man, and not God. He knew the Father, certainly, as no man can ever know Him without the Son's showing. He knew, by His transcendent intuition, that God is love; and, by His transcendent faith, that God was incarnate in Himself. He was a prophet, moreover, inspired with such knowledge of future events as God thought fit to reveal—as other prophets His predecessors had been inspired. Of His Father's will, however, and of His Father's methods, He could, as man, know no more than was then revealed; but more has been revealed since His time on earth—revealed by Himself, as God, through the Spirit which He has continuously sent, as He promised, since He rejoined His Father. For no man knoweth the Father "save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him".

(16.) Returning, then, to the consideration proposed in para. (11), we have to examine that presentation of the "great mystery," as revealed to the man Jesus and understood by His apostles, which is to be found in His recorded utterances and in their writings—so far as either may be supposed to be authentic. We find the key-note of the Master's revelation to be that God is love—love towards *all*, in spite of all imperfections (Matt. V, 43-48; Luke VI, 35 and 36); that our own love towards our offspring is a faint indication of that love (Matt. VII, 9-11; Luke XI, 11-13); that it is over our imperfections that He specially yearns, as a parent does over an afflicted child (Matt. IX, 13 and XVIII, 11-13; Luke XV), and that the worst of imperfection can and will be perfected (Matt. XIX, 26; Mark X, 27; Luke

XVIII, 27',—not by effort of its own, but by this yearning love of the Father and the Son (Matt. XX, 14 and 15; Luke XII, 32, taken in connection with the previous verses); that this love is such that God sent His Word, His Son, to perfect the world (John III, 16 and 17; XII, 47, and XVII, 23) by incorporation with His Son (John VI, 53-57, and XV, 1-6)—mankind thus sharing His triumph over imperfection and its necessary consequence dissolution (John XVI, 33),—and in this manner to bring to an end both imperfection and dissolution and 'the putting back' to renewals of evolution (John VIII, 51, and XI, 25 and 26); that, indeed, imperfection exists only to show forth God's glory in perfecting it (John IX, 3 and 39 and XI, 4), God's power and love in restoring it (Luke IX, 56 and XIX, 10; John III, 17 and XII, 32).

(17.) As was to be expected, we find these truths more faintly realised by His followers as the interval widens which separates each of their epistles from the time when the impression of the Master's presence and of His words was fresh upon the writers. Indeed, for men imbued with the cruel Jewish idea of the Fall, and of the ruin of the entire human race by the failure, under an arbitrary test, of one single representative of that race, God as a loving Father must certainly have been hard to realise; impossible, indeed, but for the happy inconsistency and illogicalness of the human mind. Where that mischievous idea sprang from is not hard to understand; hard, cruel, unjust men naturally conceive of a hard, cruel, unjust Deity. The Master, however, Jew though he was, would evidently have none of it. In fact it would have been impossible that anything so revolting, so derogatory, so opposed to His absolute trust and entire confidence in the Father's perfect love, should find place in His mind—any more than the idea of appeasing an angry God by bloody sacrifice of His creatures. It was from nothing said by the Master that the conception of His final act of self-sacrifice for His kind as being a sin offering to propitiate wrath and avert destruction, found place in the minds of His followers. It was not in that sense, very evidently, that the Master understood laying "down his life for his friends," or that David in the 40th Psalm prophesied of Him that He would offer the sacrifice of obedience, *instead* of the sin offerings in which the Father had no pleasure (Hebrews X, 6). Nor, as we see from the record in the Acts of the Apostles, were any of these ideas present to those apostles while the first freshness of the contact with their Master was still upon them. It was long afterwards that it was possible for the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews to renew, in his Chapters IX and X, the idea of sin-offering as connected with Christ's death. Paul certainly

formulates, in what otherwise appears an early epistle, namely in Romans V, 12-19, the Mosaic doctrine of Adam's transgression, and the world's condemnation thereby, which has repelled so many earnest minds from Christianity altogether. Possibly, in addressing Jews, Paul had to use ideas familiar to Jews (I Cor. IX, 20) for the purpose of making acceptable to their reason the truth of Romans V, 19, that Jesus has fulfilled for all the obedience which our imperfection renders it impossible for us to fulfil. But the result, for those who will take all Scriptures literally, and as literally inspired, and binding therefore word by word on our belief, has been very grievous.

(18.) Now, if we take the Epistles in the order of their degree of realisation of God as love, this may accord, for the reason given in the commencement of the last paragraph, with their probable chronological order. On such internal evidence the general Epistle of John should be one of the earliest of the apostolic letters, preceding even his Gospel. In this letter is indeed breathed the spirit of the Christian religion as indicated (see para 16) by the Founder of that religion, Jesus the Prophet of Nazareth. Here we find stated the same truths—that "God is love," love towards *all* in spite of all imperfections (I. John II, 1 and 2; and IV, 7-10); and that this love, in its incarnation, will perfect all imperfection (I John III, 5), and will guard and keep each creature as it is new born into the Spiritual Kingdom (I John V, 18, new version). Moreover John further elucidates these truths by fearlessly pointing out (as does Paul in I Cor : X, 13) that the above necessarily results from God's *justice*; as indeed it is plain that it would be incompatible with that justice to make imperfect without providing for the perfecting of that imperfection after having caused in us the sense of that imperfection. He gives us the consciousness of it, the desire to be free from it, and then is faithful and just to remove it (I John I. 9)

It is not from the Beloved Disciple, then, that we receive any presentation of a wrathful God, incensed against His helpless creatures for an imperfection which is of His own ordinance—and requiring a sin-offering to appease Him in the death of the innocent Christ. Fear,—such as must arise from such a conception—is, he points out, incompatible with love (I John IV, 18).

It is in the perfection of this fearless love and full trust in God's justice that we stand before Him boldly (I John IV, 17), notwithstanding our consciousness of imperfection,—knowing that, as this imperfection is of His ordering, so it has been perfected by Him.

(19.) Paul's second letter to the Corinthians is clear in its presentation of the meaning of the death of Christ,—how

He was incarnate into our natural kingdom that He might, in the perfection of His faculties of love, faith and obedience, (see also Phil. II, 8) promote it through the appointed means of evolution into the spiritual kingdom, namely, through voluntary suffering and death; an achievement of which we, through our imperfection, are not capable. Also that we, His kind, incorporate with Him, share this achievement, and the resulting perfection and re-union with The Perfect,—having no trace of the imperfection left on us (II Cor. V, 14, 17, 19 and 21.) This is the price with which Jesus has bought us, His kind (I Cor. VI, 20, and VII, 23), the price of His perfect obedience as man to the law of human perfection—an obedience only possible to a man perfect in love and faith. Nowhere in these two letters to Corinth do we find the Jewish ideas of ‘wrath’ and of ‘appeasing sacrifice’—ideas which evidently had their rise in earlier heathen conceptions of the Deity. Such ideas appear to be universally concomitant with the first conception of a Deity, for the Deity seen by the savage in the natural world around him must evidently appear malevolent, not loving. The world must indeed seem to such to be “full of darkness and cruel habitations.” Even in I Cor. XV, 21 and 22, we do not necessarily find the Jewish idea of arbitrary infliction of *punishment* on all mankind for the failure of a single individual. What is stated is merely the truism that dissolution is the necessary consequence of human imperfection, and also the revelation that human perfection in the person of Christ has triumphed over it.

(20.) The Epistle to the Galatians is not less express in the above view; it is only in the last chapter of it that any support can be found (in verses 7 and 8) for the doctrine that the Father has given His creatures ‘free will’ to thwart His loving purpose to their own destruction,—in fact, that God is *not* Love.

But that utterance is plainly polemical. Paul is striving, in this Epistle, against Jewish teachers anxious to “make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter”—indifferent, so long as the flesh of the converts was circumcised, as to the condition of their hearts. It was difficult for him, under such circumstances, to avoid sometimes saying things which might be wrested into a sense foreign to the writer’s meaning—as is remarked in Ch. III, V. 15 of that second letter hitherto attributed to Peter.

But taking this letter to the Galatians as a whole, it tallies entirely with that to the Corinthians. Jesus is shewn therein as giving himself to purge our imperfection (Gal. I 4) by that death to sin which we share with Him, as we share His

spiritual life by incorporation with Him (Gal. II, 20). Paul shows this 'new birth' into Spiritual Life as being totally independent of the will or effort of the animal so promoted (Gal. I, 15; III, 8 and 26; and IV, 4-6), and as being hindered to the last by the imperfection of the natural kingdom, while the spiritual man is still in the animal envelope (Gal. V, 17.)

(21.) Again we find the address to the Ephesians pitched in the same key. It is God's love which still fills Paul's mind (Eph. II, 4 and 7.) Our predestination to the 'new birth' (Eph. I, 5); our release from imperfection in its termination by death in Christ upon the cross (Eph. I, 7); the universality of this release from imperfection, and this 'new birth' into Christ (Eph. I, 10)—who fills all in all, even us, whose natural life is otherwise necessarily subject to dissolution the inevitable result of imperfection (Eph. I, 23 and its complement, II, 1, read without the words inserted by the translators);—these are the aspects of the 'mystery of God's will' which Paul sees in his earlier letters. We are all to come, 'in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the son of God, to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ'—flesh of whose flesh we are and bone of whose bone (Eph. IV, 13-16 and V, 29-32.) He for us, and we in Him, have offered—not a sin-offering to appease an angry Master—but a love offering of obedience to a loving Father (Eph. V, 2.)

Paul states, of course, in this letter as elsewhere (*e. g.*, I Cor. VI, 9 and 10)—what is self-evident, that while still animal, before promotion to the spiritual kingdom, before incorporation with the risen Jesus, re-union with The Perfect is in the nature of things impossible (Eph. V, 5); and he again uses words which may be wrested, by calling us while in this condition, the objects of 'wrath' (Eph. II, 3; and V, 6). But that it is not wrath in the accepted sense which Paul supposes our Father to feel against us, while His workmanship in us (Eph. II, 10) is still incomplete,—is not only evident by reason, but is expressly stated in the context. For it is in this very stage of His workmanship, while yet dead in sins, that the "great love wherewith he loved us has quickened us together with Christ."

(22.) The Epistle to the Colossians being, in all essentials, identical with that to the Ephesians, may be passed over shortly. We find therein the same view of God's love translating natural man into the spiritual kingdom of Christ, whose death ends imperfection and perfects into fitness for re-union with God the hitherto imperfect creature, now complete in Christ's fulness, and triumphant with Him over sin and death (Col. I, 13-22; and II, 10-15.) We find, too, the same fact stated, that until this 'new birth' into Christ,

there can be no fitness for such re-union with The Perfect, and expressed in the same wrestable words as are used in the other Epistles (Col. III, 6.)

In Philippians the above fact is strongly brought out, namely, that it is in Christ's perfection that we are released from the law of death, necessarily pertaining to the imperfection of the natural kingdom, and are promoted to the Life of the spiritual kingdom (Phil. III, 9 to 11.) Also that, as before said in para. (10), when once so promoted into the spiritual kingdom, there is for God's creatures no more dissolution, no more 'putting back' to retrace former steps of evolution (Phil. I 6.) Also that this promotion comes of God's good pleasure, in His own good time; and when it comes it is to be accepted and improved with awful gratitude (Phil II, 12 and 13.) Nothing is there in either of these Epistles—any more than in those to the Corinthians, the Galatians, or the Ephesians,—of those views of God's dealings with His creatures which have repelled, and must repel, so many who cannot accept a presentation which is repugnant to reason and the sense of justice (both derived from the Father, or, if not, from whence?)—and which shows us an arbitrary master, not a loving father.

Nor yet in the first letter to the Thessalonians do we find that presentation. Though little is said of doctrine therein, yet we have, in I Thess. V. 9, the repetition of the Master's utterance in John III, 17, and its amplification in I Thess. I, 10, and V, 10. Certainly, in one of these last two verses, there is reference to 'wrath,' in that it is said that Jesus has delivered us "from the wrath to come." If this is anything more than a manner of speaking in accordance with the ideas of the time, then it shows that opposition and persecution were by this time doing their work, and were inclining even these holy apostles to the spirit which the Master rebuked in James and John (Luke IX, 55)—thus causing them to forget that "the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives but to save them"—which latter would be the case if John III, 18 and 19, really represented God's purpose, instead of being John's idea of it (see note to para. 13.)

(23.) In the letters to Timothy we find the clear expression of the fact which first appears in Luke XXIII, 34, namely that what we call sin, what we are told, in words attributed to John the Baptist (John III, 36), will be damned as unbelief—in fact, what is the inevitable consequence of the imperfection of the Natural Kingdom—is not cause for our Father's 'wrath,' but the object of His fatherly yearning and love (I Tim. I, 13 and 14); and that this is what God was incarnate to remedy and perfect (I Tim. I, 15), not to condemn (see also John III, 17); and now that He has ascended up on high

leading the captivity of imperfection captive, and has received from the Father the gift of Spiritual Life for men—"yea for the rebellious also, that the Lord God might dwell among them" (Ps. LXVIII, 18)—He *will* "have all men to be saved and to come into the knowledge of the truth" (I Tim II, 4). And who ventures to assert that His will is not law? Who are those who can seriously suppose that His word shall return unto Him void, that it shall not accomplish that which He pleases, and shall not prosper in the thing whereto He sent it (Isaiah LV, 11)? Certainly not those to whom "God hath not given the spirit of fear, but of power and of a sound mind." Let those who are deterred from Christianity in the presentation by rash persons of the ghastly doctrine of damnation, remember that Christianity's greatest exponent avers that—"Our Saviour Jesus Christ hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the good tidings" (II Tim. I, 10.)

Certainly the same exponent has said (II Tim. II, 12), that "if we deny him he also will deny us," quoting therein the Master's own words, *as man* (Luke XII, 9.) But are not Peter, and Paul himself, eminent instances to the contrary? They repented, certainly, but where did the repentance come from? Evidently He *will* have all men to be saved and to come unto the knowledge of the truth. Evidently He *will* leave no imperfection of the flesh to render denial possible.

It is absurd to take isolated utterances of human beings, even of the Master, against the whole tenor of prophecy, against the whole teaching afforded by Christ's life and death of love, against the reason given us by the Father whereby to know Him. How should we look, as Paul writes to Titus, "for that blessed hope and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us that he might redeem us from all iniquity"—if that appearing meant rejection and misery for the great majority of the fellow creatures for whom, as man, He completed obedience and took upon himself the consequence of their imperfection, in death, thereby redeeming them from the imperfection and its necessary end? Would *that* be the manifestation of "the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man,"—or is it rather that He *has* "according to his mercy, saved us by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost," whenever, in His own good time, this washing and renewing, or 'new birth' into the Spiritual Kingdom, reaches each creature of the Lower Kingdom?

The three letters just quoted to Timothy and Titus, though mainly letters of direction and guidance, accord fully, where doctrine is touched, with the teaching of the other Epistles

hitherto quoted. The isolated utterance regarding our Saviour's denying us, may therefore be an interpolation; but, if really dictated by Paul, it only shows that even he had not fully grasped—as how can any one grasp—that “love of Christ which passeth knowledge.”

(24). In the first of the letters of Peter there is nothing which differs from the spirit of the above-quoted Epistles of “his beloved brother Paul.” Here, again, we find ‘the abundant mercy which hath begotten us again unto a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, to an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled and which fadeth not away,’—and that, when thus new born into the spiritual kingdom, we are “kept by the power of God” to be ‘put back’ no more. (I Pet. I, 3-5). Being “born again, not of corruptible seed but of incorruptible,” dissolution is impossible,—that, and the imperfection of which it is the fruit, having been done with, once and for all, when Christ bare it in his own body on the tree, and humanity and imperfection died in Him there (I Pet. II, 24). Moreover, if we are to gather from I Pet. III, 19, and IV, 6, that man of the natural kingdom—even after dissolution, and while in course of re-evolution into that kingdom from the kingdom below, in progress towards eventual promotion into the kingdom above—retains a consciousness independent of the brain which has dissolved into inorganic matter; if we are to understand this, then we see that the revelation of the certainty of this promotion reached all the kingdoms simultaneously, when Christ finished his self-appointed task and ended imperfection and dissolution by bearing in Himself the consequence of the former in the latter—the “just for the unjust,” the perfect for the imperfect. Well, then, might Isaiah call upon inanimate nature to rejoice with the sons of men and the angels of God—“Sing O heavens; and be joyful O earth; and break forth into singing O mountains; for the Lord hath comforted his people and will have mercy on the afflicted.”

But even in this beautiful Epistle, free as it is from human, and especially Jewish, notions of free-will to be imperfect; of God's wrath against the necessary imperfection of the creation which He is gradually perfecting; of the suffering of a perfect creature, as a sin-offering for that imperfection, to appease that wrath;—even here we find (I Pet. IV, 18) one touch of human weakness—namely, the human and especially Jewish idea of differences of merit, of degrees of imperfection, and of partiality in God's love on account of such differences and degrees of His own appointment!

(25). It is needless to refer to the Epistle of James, that being rather exhortatory than doctrinal. Certainly there is

nothing in it, any more than in the other Epistles hitherto-quoted, of John, Paul, and Peter, to give support to the terrible denunciations of II Peter II and III, 7; and of the Epistle of Jude, and of II Thessalonians I, 8 and 9, and II, 11 and 12.

Of the second letter of Peter, as of the second of Paul's letters to the Thessalonians, we must suppose that if they are really in their entirety the production of those whose names they bear, they were written much later than the other Epistles and for polemical purposes—when the heat of controversy had weakened the first freshness of the impression of the all-embracing love of the Father and of the Son. The second chapter of Peter's second letter is practically the same as the fierce denunciation of Jude. By whomsoever these and the second letter to the Thessalonians were written, we see therein the commencement of the embittered controversies which were so soon to convulse the Church. Objectors to Christianity may make the most of them, and that most is yet very little. No one supposes that even the apostles were free from human failings. Paul and Barnabas quarrelled bitterly. Peter dissembled at Antioch and was rebuked by Paul. Paul descended to subterfuge at Jerusalem, when trying to set at variance, for his own ends, the sects of the Pharisees and the Sadducees. He was led into acerbity and foolish boasting in the course of his long controversy with the Church of Jerusalem. In short, they were, as they said, "men of like passions" with ourselves who use God's word so glibly to condemn each other withal. Even the Master was provoked to anger more than once by crass opposition—and especially by the accusation that He had an unclean spirit (Mark III, 28-30). Former prophets were unbridled in their invective; and the denunciations of the prophet of Nazareth against those for whom He was completing obedience, whose imperfection He was about to perfect in His death, whom He was redeeming from imperfection's consequence with His blood, were hardly less bitter than those of the letters above referred to. He said that His opponents should die in their sins, when he was just about to purge them from their sins; He called them children of their father the devil, when just about to make them peculiarly the children of God.

Leaving, then, these denunciatory epistles to be read according to the spirit of their time, we will now turn to the Epistle to the Hebrews, hitherto attributed to Paul, and to that great stumbling block, his letter to the Jews of Rome.

(26). The Epistle to the Hebrews is, for the most part, an elaborate argument intended to convince the Jews of the correspondence of the Messiah's mission with their own system of worship, and with the priestly office of expiatory sacrifice. This was doubtless a presentation necessary to

conciliate the prejudices of Jews, but that it does not consist with the Christian conception of that mission has been the contention of this essay. As has been before said, such was not the presentation of that mission in the earlier apostolic letters; nor was it the idea present to the mind of the man Jesus, in so far as can be gathered from His reported utterances. He died, certainly, to purge our sins (Heb: I, 3), or to remove our imperfection,—but where in His words is to be found the idea of expiating our crimes by a sin-offering of blood to appease wrath (Heb IX, 7, 22 and 28)?

Indeed the writer (for the letter can hardly be Paul's) quotes, immediately before the similar utterance of Heb X, 12, that 40th Psalm which so clearly prophesies the nature of the Saviour's sacrifice, namely, a free-will offering, a love offering of sweet savour,—the obedience of man. To Jews the writer had to speak as a Jew; nevertheless, in his second chapter, he sets forth the clear Christian view of the perfecting of imperfect man by suffering (Heb II, 9 and 10) of the ending of his imperfection by death (Heb: II, 14)—both suffering and death voluntarily endured by the typical man in the perfection of His love and faith; and, in Him, by His kind, incorporate with Him by the love and faith which, as God, He has received power to bestow (Math: XXVIII, 18 and Heb: XII, 2).

Throughout the Epistle, however, runs the idea of limitation of the effect of this achievement, of free-will to accept or to reject its benefit, of judgment and fiery indignation against such rejection;—in short, instead of the Spirit of adoption, that "spirit of bondage again to fear" which Paul expressly disclaims in Romans VIII, 15. How far was the writer from the first fervency of love and trust left by contact with the Master, when he could think of our Father as a "consuming fire," and could say that it is a fearful thing for His own children to fall into the hands of the living God! (Heb X, 31 and XII, 29). And yet how noble is this letter! How Christian is the view of suffering as tender perfecting, as the sign of our sonship (Heb: XII, 5-11); and that statement of 'the end of our conversation,' the object of this our human stage of evolution, the 'issue of our life' (Heb: XIII, 7), "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever"! How sublime is the description of that faith which is the means of attaining this end—that Prometheus-gift which vivifies us with His life! Judaic though it is, there is indeed but little in the letter to the Hebrews for objectors to lay hold of in misinterpretation of the idea of Christianity.

(27) And now, of doctrinal writings, there remains only Paul's letter to Rome. In postponing to the last the consideration of this letter the object is convenience. It is

not intended thereby to infer its chronological place in the series of Apostolic letters, in the sense of the previous paragraphs (17) and (18). Indeed, in this letter, though at first for argument's sake employing the then accepted view of free-will to sin and of condemnation for sin, Paul subsequently most clearly unfolds his wider conception of God's love. The last two verses of his eighth chapter should place this letter very early in the series of those in which Christ's followers show the fresh impression of their contact with the Master.

Before discussing the letter let us first inquire how it is that, although "we have no power of ourselves to help ourselves," (Collect for the second Sunday in Lent), still the Master and His apostles are represented, throughout the New Testament, as calling upon men to act for themselves, as threatening them for persistence in disobedience, as bidding them flee from the wrath to come. How is it that Paul says to the Corinthians that we must "all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad"?

The answer to this seems to be that it is the universal human method of speaking. The condition expressed in James IV, 15—"if the Lord will"—is always understood, consciously or unconsciously. We all understand, as a matter of course, that we are not free-agents. When the centurion bid his servant to 'do this,' it was tacitly understood that every movement and action of the subordinate depended upon an assistance which might be at any moment withdrawn. If, then, breathing, moving, speaking, acting, are thus conditioned, how much more repenting, amending, purifying of ourselves, seeking to God! This is evidently implicit in the commands of the Preachers. They mean 'go, sin no more, God willing' and they *know* that God is willing, always in His own good time.

When the Master, in reply to the Pharisees (Matt: XXII, 34) summed the law in two commandments: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind", and "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself"—the word 'commandment' was plainly the human method of speaking adopted by, and adapted to, his questioners. The second law stated is but the corollary of the first: the love for the creature is the necessary out-come of love for the Creator. But whence shall come the love for the Creator? It is mockery to tell a person that he 'shall' love; love cannot be compelled, it *comes*.

Now the Master could not mock; He only stated a fact which is certain and evident, namely that, for union with the Central Love, connection must be established therewith; attraction must be set up to outweigh that mysterious eccentric

force which we see in the universe. As was said in paragraph 76 of the former essay, love is what we have of the Divine, it is our part in the Central Power of the universe, and exists consciously or unconsciously in all creation. But electricity is also a power existing in all things, and love, like electricity, needs connection before its power is developed.

Implicit, then, in the command to love God must be the understanding, that from Him will come the connection between Himself, the Central Love, and that principle of love which is implanted in the entire creation issuing from Him—of which principle, the attraction which we see governing all matter, is doubtless an unconscious exhibition.

As regards exhortations and commands the above may perhaps be regarded as a not unreasonable hypothesis. But of wrath to come, judgment, condemnation, award according to degrees of imperfection, (for 'good,' in man, can only express a degree of imperfection—"none is good save one, that is God")—of these conceptions of the Master, adopted by His followers, the only apparent explanation is, that they were Jewish conceptions, used by Him as a Jewish teacher of the first century for Jewish hearers of that day.

(28.) Then the further question arises—Why all this zeal for Christ, this eagerness to bring men to a condition which they are helpless to attain, and to which we are helpless to bring them? The answer is, doubtless,—'Divine nature.' We are helpless, certainly, to *do* anything for our neighbour, but the divine love with which the 'new birth' fills Christians must break forth. 'Love—me love my dog' is an old proverb, and the overflow of our love to the Father *must* embrace His creatures. Even so much of the Divine as there is in the animal kingdom delights in sacrifice of its best to a loved object. Much more, then, when translated into the spiritual kingdom, when the connection spoken of in para. 76 of the former essay, between the Central Love and the power of love universal in nature, is established in the new birth—we long to make offerings of sweet savour in our efforts, powerless as we know them to be, to please the Father by benefiting His loved creatures. Moreover, though we can *do* nothing, it is granted to us to *will*. Our prayers, in those of the Intercessor of whom we are part, are doubtless a mighty power towards advancing the times and the seasons, of which even the Son is not aware, but "which the Father hath put in his own power" (Matt. XXIV, 36; Mark XIII, 32; Acts I, 7.)

(29.) Having thus cleared the ground, we can arrive at a better understanding of Paul's endeavour to unfold the mysteries of Christianity to the Jews of Rome. In the first chapter of his letter Paul gives the view of evil as accepted

in his day,—namely that men with free-will refuse the knowledge of God, and are therefore given up by God, to do that evil against which God's wrath is revealed (Rom. I, 18 and 28.) That Paul himself did not hold this view appears further on, but he uses it to lead up to the first position in his argument against the Jews (Rom. II, 1-4)—who, wrapped up in their self conceit as descendants of Abraham, regarded themselves as peculiarly the children of God, and all others as reprobate. Granted says Paul, that, according to accepted ideas, award will go by merit (Rom. II, 6-10) then by merit it will be, and there will be no respect of persons; indeed of the Jew *more* will be required (Rom. II, 11-29.) But the fact is, relish it as the Jews may, that all idea of merit is as absurd (Rom. III, 9-20) as is the idea of special inheritance of God's favour (Rom. IX, 7 and 8.) All are equally unworthy, imperfect, helpless, and it is only in Christ's perfection that all, Jew, Gentile—even Abraham himself, can be "justified," or rendered meet for re-union with the Perfect (Rom. III, 21-31 and IV.) Paul does not go into the further question as to where Abraham's love and faith came from, whereby he shares in Christ's perfection,—whereby alone all men can share therein. Paul urges and invites the Jews to this love and faith, and the condition of the Father's gift of power is as implicit in Paul's exhortation as it was when Jesus of Nazareth invited the sick of the palsy to arise and walk, or when the Centurion ordered his soldiers to go and to come.

Again, in his fifth chapter, Paul uses received views in order to make his point—namely, that it is only in 'the obedience of Jesus' that mankind is perfected (Rom. V, 19.) We were helpless, and Christ fulfilled our obedience for us (Rom. V, 6)—God's loving scheme for His creatures' perfection thus providing for their at-one-ment or re-union with Himself (Rom. V, 8-11), and filling our hearts with the love and faith by which that connection with the Central Love is re-established (see para. 76 of the former essay, and the previous paragraph 27.)

(30.) Chapter VI of the letter to Rome is devoted to explaining the effect of this our obedience in Christ. Christ obeyed the law that imperfection must end in dissolution (Rom. VI, 23). Our imperfection died in Him on the cross, and we in His resurrection enjoy the gift of translation into the Spiritual Life. Speaking "after the manner of men" (Rom. VI, 19 and XII, 1 and 2) Paul appeals to the free will of his hearers to realise all this and to live accordingly—the condition of James IV, 15 being necessarily present to his mind, as it governs consciously or unconsciously, all directions of man to men.

Then Paul turns, in the seventh chapter, to explain the real circumstances of sin and imperfection—of which, in the

first chapter, he had, for argument's sake, used the accepted view. This he shows to be a thing inherent in our present state of development, while in the natural kingdom; and that the supposed free will "to refuse the evil and choose the good" is a mere conceit of that human pride which revolts from the recognition of its helplessness. First let the mind be humbled to realise this, and then it will cry, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death;" and will thus be led to "thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord."

(31.) The eighth chapter develops this explanation (Rom. VIII, 5-8.) It shows that imperfection was so made for the very purpose of being perfected, and that its self-consciousness and suffering in that consciousness is a means to that end (Rom. VIII, 18-23)—a means insufficient, however, till He (Himself, in the person of His Son) assuming the condition of imperfection, incarnate into the natural kingdom, voluntarily accepts and uses that means in the perfect obedience of love and faith as man, and condemns imperfection to death, in His own human person (Rom. VIII, 3.) Incorporate in that person, by the love and faith which He bestows upon us in the 'new birth,' we share His obedience, His victory over imperfection in its death on the Cross, His resurrection into the Spiritual life, and His Sonship (Rom. VIII, 9-17.)

Though we still, while in the animal envelope, suffer by its imperfection, the Spirit, which has breathed upon us the 'new birth,' maintains the new life so given against infirmity and decay, and sends up the prayer of faith in the midst of this distress (Rom. VIII, 26 and 27.)

All things—even what we call evil, or imperfection, suffering and death—"work together for good" for God's creation, since first matter embodied God's will, till now that it has culminated in the man new born into the body of the risen Jesus. Before time was He predestinated His creation to be conformed to that body; through process after process during the countless ages He has called it; in an obscure corner of this obscure satellite of one among the countless suns of the universe, He has justified or perfected it; and in reunion with Himself He will—or, in the words of faith for which time does not exist, He *has* glorified it (Rom. VIII, 28-30.)

"What, then, shall objectors say to these things? (for there are Christian objectors as well as materialist objectors.) If He has given His Son, by whom and in whom is this creation, to thus bring back His creation into Himself, shall any one bound His giving (Rom. VIII 31 and 32); shall any one venture to say that He can repent of His gifts and calling (Rom. XI, 29)? "Who shall lay anything to the

charge of God's elect?" And who shall presume to limit God's elect? "Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?"

And then comes the grand profession of faith in Rom. VIII, 38 and 39, a profession so beyond the reach of imperfect humanity even at the present day, so impossible for a Jew and a Puritan of that day, that it must be regarded as the immediate inspiration of God. And yet, if dispassionately considered, it is pure reason. Once admit that we are not the offspring of chance, but of a Living Being, then we must be like Him in some degree, and His feelings can in some degree be inferred from ours. What man is ruthless to his own workmanship? What father but pitieth his own children? The inference of David in the 103rd Psalm, is that of Jesus of Nazareth in the sermon on the mount, of Paul in his letter to the Jews of Rome. If we, consciously imperfect as we are, love our children, *how much more* does the Perfect Father? Do infirmity and imperfection estrange the earthly parent from his offspring, or would he remove both if he could? Is it, then, reason to imagine that the Almighty cannot do this, or that the All-loving will not? Let objectors take as the Christian creed the last two verses of the eighth chapter of Paul's letter to Rome, and stumble no longer over purblind views and partial presentations of that creed by lesser men.

(32) The next chapter of that letter has probably, writes Mr. Morison, in his 'Service of Man'—"added more to human misery than any other utterances made by man." Why so? Paul therein only expresses self-evident truth, namely, the helplessness of the creature; that "it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy." Are we competent to judge for Him how this love is to work for us? Does not all nature teach the rule 'every one in his turn'? Can we suggest a better? Are we ready with a substitute for natural selection—for 'putting back,' for development by degrees? And what else does Romans IX describe but this method? Do the sceptics stumble only over Paul's manner of conveying scientific truth to the understanding of Jews of the first century? Doubtless, had he and they possessed the knowledge of the present day, Paul would have selected other words than those of Romans IX, 22 and 23. But suppose that, instead of speaking of men, Paul had been speaking of trees, and of the suppression of the less fit in order to promote the growth of the fitter, in a forest—would any one quarrel with his words? Paul is only describing a law of

nature, and that he understood the full extent of the law, and that such suppression or rejection is only postponement, appears from Romans XI, 11, 12, 15, 25, 26, 31 and 32. Do objectors who admire the method in the organic kingdom object to it on account of its universality? Or is it merely that they fail to apprehend what professor Drummond points out—that the writers of the New Testament, without meaning to be scientific, but meaning only to be accurate, have stated truths in the clearest terms of modern science?

(33.) To sum up the argument, then, it may be said that—putting aside the denunciatory Epistles for which the considerations stated in para. (25) may sufficiently account—there is nothing in the exposition of their Master's teaching by the followers of Jesus to justify that 'believe or be damned' presentation of Christianity, on which objections to Christianity are mainly founded, (objections other than the scientific objections dealt with in the former essay). It has been before admitted that there is much more ground for that presentation, and those objections, in the reported utterances of the man Jesus Himself, such as are quoted in the previous para. (13).

Of these utterances an explanation has been attempted in paras. (14) and (15); and the presentation really made by the man Jesus of the "great mystery" as understood by Him, has been set forth in para. (16). It is contended that this presentation,—supported as it is by the exposition of His teaching which is afforded in the letters of His followers—is the one which objectors should in fairness consider; instead of grasping at one which is discordant with human reason, with the analogy of Divine working in the universe as observed by science, and with our consciousness of God's love through its faint reflection in our own hearts,—even though the latter presentation may be put forward by some Christians on the strength of particular utterances such as are quoted in para. (13).

The explanation attempted of these utterances in paras. (14) and (15) may be worthless; no other attempt to explain them may be reasonable; if so, then they are dark sayings such as are many others attributed to the Master (*e. g.* Matt. XI, 12, and XVI, 19 and 28), and found in the writings of former prophets. As before said in para. (11)—that any finite intellect should fully understand the mind of Him 'whose judgments are unsearchable and his ways past finding out' is of course out of the question. All interpretations must necessarily be in a greater or less measure false. But "let God be true though every man a liar." He reveals Himself in His universe, and in our hearts, as love; and when our eyes are opened to so see Him by the 'new birth', then faith in the at-one-ment of His creation with himself follows as a certain consequence.

(34) It may not be out of place, in concluding this essay, to allude to a matter which perhaps affects, more or less consciously, the attitude of some persons towards the received ideas of Christianity,—namely the popular presentment of the Christian's hereafter. There are many who cannot conceive of an eternity of prayer and praise. There is to them something unreal and impossible, even repugnant, in the conception. They find psalm-singing and long devotional exercises wearisome on earth, and to do nothing but this hereafter is a prospect far from attractive. Others are full of energy—a quality certainly of Divine origin, however our imperfection may misdirect it; and they look forward with no pleasure to an eternity of rest.

But there is no ground for those popular ideas. "My father worketh hitherto and I work," said the Master, and is it to be supposed that the hitherto eternal order will suddenly be changed? The imperious need of work implanted in man is but a reflex of the energy of that source from whence he comes; as the activity of the universe which culminates in man emanates from Him of whose will it is the embodiment. Thus the future, like the past, may be assumed to be ceaseless activity—and also *joy therein*, when the imperfection which recoils from exertion has been perfected.

(35.) One rest, indeed, there is for the sons of God. the rest from the burden of imperfection under which "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain until now." To mortal man this perhaps alone of those things which "eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither have entered in the heart of man—which God hath prepared for them that love him,"—this alone is fully realisable. Constituted as we are, this anticipation must in life swallow up all others, even that which in approaching death will be yet more intense—the anticipation of reunion with God. Whatever a parent may feel in returning to long parted children, or children in rejoining their parents; whatever may be felt by lovers, wives and husbands, in reunion after weary separation; can be but a faint indication of the feeling of the man purged from sin, new born into Christ, whose connection with the Central Love has been re-established in an attraction which grows hourly stronger as he draws nearer to the Golden Gate. What must be the rapture of that man, when, as physical brain and sense reel and swim, the dawning commences on the opening vision, and he struggles to his release seeing, like Stephen, "the heavens opened and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God." But this cannot be realised now; in life it seems distant and unreal. With the bonds of the flesh and its imperfection still upon him, while he has only the brain wherewith to receive impressions, man

cannot rise to the height of realising reunion as keenly as he realises rest from the burden of imperfection. That, at any rate, comes home to us all—the anticipation of the intense relief when that burden will no longer weigh us down.

As Paul says, even we “which have the first fruits of the spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves waiting for the adoption.” If such is the longing of the new born man for this relief, what must be its realisation as the Gate is passed! Whatever we can feel on this earth in release from mortal pain, in respite from awful dread, in deliverance from utmost sorrow, can be absolutely nothing to the overpowering sense of freedom from the power of sin.

(36.) Then the intensity of the life! To a human being in perfect health and vigour, so far as such is possible, mere existence is a joy;—what must it be to the really perfect man, weighed down no longer by the grossness of the mortal nature! To him may truly apply that apostrophe of Shelley:—

“With thy clear keen joyance langour can not be :
Shadow of anoyance never came near thee :
Thou lovest ; but ne’er knew love’s sad satiety.”

This last line, moreover, points to a special joy,—

“When with the morn those angel faces smile
Which I have loved long since, and lost awhile.”

—and the love of earth is renewed in heavenly perfection, without misunderstandings or differences, as without coldness or change. For there shall be no more “sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain : for the former things are passed away.” Not only the reunion with loved ones gone before, but the vast capacity of love embracing all those who are beloved of the Redeemer—this must be a very keen delight ; for when on earth are we happier than in the moments when we feel in charity with all men, and enjoy the exquisite luxury of sympathy and of doing good!

Finally, of those things prepared for us which *can* ‘enter in the heart of man’, one thoroughly realisable delight is the joy of work. With the vast development of energies which will accrue to us, what must be the keen pleasure of honourable, beneficent, successful, service—service of which we can see the results; free from failure, free from misconstruction and calumny; thorough, perfect, complete and appreciated with that “well done, thou good and faithful servant” which will be guerdon indeed.

(37.) Now, is an eternity of prayer and praise more conceivable, more consonant with and agreeable to human ideas? Will not the prayer and praise upspring perforce from hearts overflowing with joys like these, which can in some degree be

anticipated now—and with those other transcendent joys which “eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither have entered in the heart of man?”

The human creature depicts the hereafter according to his own ideas of what is joy. The Red Indian imagined a paradise all hunting and fishing; the Norseman painted it all fighting and drinking; Mahomed conceived of it as all wine and women; to the Christian it appears all love and service and praise:—Never can it enter the heart of man on this earth, that “which God hath prepared for them that love him.”

H. GREY.

ART. III.—THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN BENGAL.

ARTICLE II.

IN a previous article* I treated of the administration of justice in Bengal with special reference to the work and position of the Munsifs. I now propose to make some remarks on the Code of Civil Procedure, and the general results of our judicial system. But as the High Court's Reports for 1887 and 1888 have appeared since my first article was written, I think that I should begin by referring to some of the statistics contained in them.

There was a considerable increase of institutions in 1887, the figures being 489,796 against 471,066 for 1886, and naturally there was a corresponding increase in the decisions, the figures being 498,206 against 471,575. This rate of increase was not maintained in 1888, for in it the institutions were 478,116 and the decisions 488,607. There was thus a falling off of nearly 12,000 in the number of institutions. Still they were in excess of those for 1886 and other preceding years. The above figures include the work of the Calcutta Courts, but not that of the so-called Revenue Courts. The number of suits commonly instituted and decided in them is about 11,000, and it is noticeable that there was no diminution in 1888 such as occurred in the Munsifs' Courts and in the Calcutta Small Cause Court. On the contrary the institutions increased, there being 10,681 in 1887 and 11,107 in 1888. Probably, however, these figures include cases in which Revenue officers made out certificates of demand under certain special Acts. If so, the rise or fall in the number does not signify much, as it may depend on such a fortuitous circumstance as a change in the official staff.

It is difficult to say to what the falling off in institutions in 1888 is owing. It has occurred in the money class of suits, the drop in them amounting to nearly 20,000 (2,60,762 against 279,452 in 1887, and 2,73,782 in 1886), and it has been suggested that it is due to the passing of the Debtors' Act (8 of 1888) which has put difficulties in the way of the arrest and imprisonment of debtors. No doubt this is one of the causes, for a remarkable table in the Report shows that there

* No. CLXXIV for October 1888, p. 344.

has been a great decrease in the number of cases in which debtors were sent to jail. During 1884-87 the number was always above 2,000, but in 1888 it fell to 915. The figures are the more striking because the Debtors' Act was not in force for the first quarter of the year. Another cause is, that a large class of suits has ceased to be cognizable by the Small Cause Courts. I refer to suits for ground rents which, to the great inconvenience of the public, can now only be brought in the regular Courts. They have therefore disappeared from col. 8 of Statement 2, though it is not clear where they have gone to, for in many cases they do not come within the provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act. It would seem that the headings of Statement 2 require alteration. The passing of the Debtors' Act will hardly account for the decrease in institutions in the Calcutta Small Cause Court. It is too large to be so accounted for, and it began before the Debtors' Act was passed. It appears, too, that this Act has had less effect in Calcutta than in the interior. The decrease in the number of applications for arrest in the Calcutta Small Cause Court was considerable, but not enormous, there being 769 such applications in 1887 and 603 in 1888. This was not so great a fall as that from 1886 to 1887, the number in the former year being 987.

The diminution of business in the Calcutta Small Cause Court is very marked, and does not appear to be satisfactory. Curiously enough it seems to have been going on ever since the pecuniary jurisdiction was enlarged. "It is a remarkable fact," says the Report, "that notwithstanding the increased jurisdiction given in 1882, the number of suits instituted has considerably decreased. The returns for 1883, 1887 and 1888 are most conspicuous in this respect." In 1886 there were nearly 30,000 (29,216) institutions, in 1887 they were 26,811, and in 1888, 25,097. Some persons may regard the diminution with pleasure, and think that it points to a diminished litigiousness. It is very doubtful, however, if it is due to this cause. The litigiousness of the Bengalis has been much exaggerated. Long ago Sir Henry Strachey wrote—"Complaints are seldom or never litigious. I have seen some false complaints, and some conspiracies supported by false evidence; but suits simply litigious, brought forward merely from the quarrelsome disposition of the prosecutor, are not common. . . . out of 100 suits, perhaps five at the utmost, may be fairly pronounced litigious." Seventy-three years later we find Mr. Field writing—"Much has been said here (in Sir Fitzjames Stephen's minute) and elsewhere of the latitude of appeal and of the litigiousness of the people of India; but I venture to say that a careful comparison of the Indian system and of judicial statistics will show, that there is very little, if indeed anything abnormal in these respects

in India, as compared with other countries.* It is only doctrinaires like Mr. Whitley Stokes who can seriously describe it as a defect in the Code of Civil Procedure, that the courts are not expressly empowered to stay frivolous or vexatious suits. Such men bestride the poor land of India like Colossi, in touch with it only at the two points of Simla and Calcutta, and sublimely regardless of all that lies between. In all probability the decrease in the business of the Calcutta Small Cause Court is due to suitors having become wearied out with law expenses, and with the increased delay and difficulty in obtaining justice. In the report† for 1887, the High Court say that complaints have been made both by the Judges of the Small Cause Court and by the public, of the block in the despatch of the legitimate business of the Court. It is added that the Court has not overlooked the matter, and apparently this is all the consolation that the public has as yet got. The idea that expense and delay have caused the diminution of the business is supported by the fact, that the decrease has chiefly taken place in suits of small values: for example, in 1888 there was a falling off of 1714 in suits under Rs. 10 in value (9,310 in 1886 and 7,596 in 1887.) If statistics are to be trusted, it would appear that the falling off was not occasioned by want of success in realising decretal monies, for the figures for 1888 are in this respect better than those for 1886 or 1887. It may be doubted, however, if statement No. 6 is correctly prepared. If it is, the difference in the proportion of successful to unsuccessful applications for execution in the Calcutta Court and in the Mofussil Courts is remarkable. In the former, three fourths of the applications are more or less successful, while in the latter more than half of the applications are "wholly infructuous." This is the more strange as the powers of the Mofussil Courts are greater, and, as many of the applications to them are for the recovery of immovable property which cannot be made away with so easily as money.

* Mr. Field's remarks evidently were only meant to refer to the matter of litigiousness, though grammatically they also refer to the system of appeals. He admits that the great latitude of appeal is one of the most remarkable features of Indian Procedure.

† In the Report for 1886, the Judges of the Small Cause Court say, that they fear the decrease is to be attributed to the more cumbrous procedure which has been adopted since 1882, and to the fact that the smaller suits are shouldered out of the way by suits of higher value. "We are satisfied," they add, "that the usefulness of the Court, as a small debt collecting Court, has been much impaired." Perhaps it was a mistake to enlarge the jurisdiction of the Court. What Calcutta really wants apparently is, an Original Court which can try all cases above a certain value, and do so more cheaply and expeditiously than the original side of the High Court. It does not seem reasonable that the practice in the latter should be kept a close preserve for barristers. Such is not the rule in Madras.

It is doubtful if litigation is likely to increase much in Bengal. The tide has been rising for many years, but there are signs now of its slackening. The tremulous fluctuations that now begin to be observed appear to point to an approach to the zenith. The only things likely now-a-days to cause a fresh increase of suits, would be a reduction of Court fees, and the establishment of more Courts, but these are hardly to be looked for. We seem to have too much to do in providing for the external defences of India to have leisure or finances for internal improvements,—at least when these take the form of cheapening justice. More light would be thrown on the decreases and increases noticed in the High Court Reports if the field of observation were enlarged. The Debtors' Act applies to all India, and if it has reduced litigation in Bengal, it ought to have the same effect elsewhere. The only other Report for 1888 which I have seen is that for the Punjab, and according to it, litigation largely increased in 1888, (257,975 against 248,177 in 1887). The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal annually reviews the administration of justice within his Province. Presumably other Governors do the same ; but, so far as I am aware, no attempt is made by the Government of India to gather up these provincial reports into one general review of the administration of justice throughout the Empire. At least this is not done in any publication which is readily procurable by the public. The only general observations on the subject that I have seen, are in a memorandum by the Secretary of State on the results of Indian administration within the thirty years from 1856 to 1886. It is there stated that in 1856 some 730,000 suits were instituted in India, and that in 1886 the number was 1,908,869. A general review by the Government of India would not only be of high interest, but it would tend to produce a feeling of solidarity among our High Courts. At present, they work independently of one another, and Mr. Whitley Stokes, quoting Mr. Collett, complains that they do not show that regard for each other's decisions which is the habit of Courts of concurrent grade in England. There are certainly some points of practice which the High Court might settle in common. The rules about commissions, for example, are different in the North West from those in Bengal, and yet the Bengal Courts have often to send commissions to be executed in the North West, and *vice versa*.

The apparent omission of the Government of India to review the judicial statistics for the Empire is the more remarkable, because the Committee which sat some years ago and devised forms of annual returns, appears to have contemplated that such a review should be made. The tables and statements of the Calcutta High Court are divided into two classes—Provincial

and Imperial—and forms of the second class are used throughout India.

Statement (Q), showing the average duration of cases exhibits an improvement on those for former years,—the average for contested cases having been brought down to less than five months. The Hon'ble High Court writes disparagingly of this return, observing that the Court has never attached much importance to it, as there is much reason to believe that it is not properly calculated. I am afraid that such a remark is not likely to make the Lower Courts more careful in preparing the return. Yet it would seem an easy thing to make the return correctly: all that is needed is, to count the days from institution to decision of each case, and the registers kept in every Court ought to allow of this being done. Surely the return is a necessary one and worth taking pains with. It is something to know that cases do not drag on now as they did in the early days of our administration. In February 1795 the Collector of Burdwan reported, that there were thirty thousand undecided suits on the files of the district courts:—

“I have reason to believe, he writes, “that the whole number of suits now undecided in the Adalat of this district, will be found to be not less in number than thirty thousand, and that half this accumulation of business in arrears, has taken place in the course of about nine months. To judge therefore from an experience of nine months, of the adequacy of the Court to answer the object of its institution, in which the due collection of the rents and public interest are immediately concerned, or, in other words, to estimate the excess of its business, beyond what, under its present constitution, human powers can perform, a computation may be made on the following grounds:—Let it be admitted that the Court can get though ten suits per diem, which, considering that there is likewise a Faujdari (criminal) of constant and very considerable business to be supplied, and that every suit in the Diwani Adalat, whether for a large or a small sum, requires the same formality of procedure, is, I apprehend, the utmost that it can be supposed to perform; and allowing in the same estimate, that the Court sits for the dispatch of business every day in the year, not even Sundays excepted, the period required for it to clear off its present load of business, would be no less than between eight and nine years; at the end of which term, admitting the number of plaints filed, or that the business of the Courts should be equal to what it has proved for nine months past. the load of business, instead of being perfectly gotten rid of, would be found increased in the number of one hundred and sixty thousand suits still pending, or more than five times what it is at present. It follows, therefore, that a man who at this time files a bill in the Diwani Adalat, and provided his cause be brought to decision in regular rotation, cannot look for redress of his injury to be afforded him in less than eight years; and that a man who, at the end of that period, should file a bill, could have no very good prospects of its being brought to decision in the whole term of his life; and, moreover, that the number of plaints pending at the end of every year, should be found still accumulating in a ratio which would ultimately

prolong the prospect of decision beyond any assignable limits, and thereby destroy the purpose of an Adalut altogether."

The author of this appalling calculation was Mr. Samuel Davis, well known as a mathematician, and as a contributor to the early volumes of the *Asiatic Researches*. He seems to have had a grim satisfaction in applying his powers of calculation to a practical subject.

In commenting on this and similar representations, the authors of the 5th Report (printed 1812) express a doubt if things had much improved. They notice that the number of suits pending before the native Commissioners (Munsifs) at the end of 1801, was 131,929, and they observe—"Subsequent reports are not calculated to show that the difficulty of keeping down the number of cases depending on the file, has at all diminished, or that the means resorted to for that purpose have been as successful as was expected." They quote a letter from the Bengal Government showing, that at the end of 1802, the number of suits pending in Tirhoot, Dacca and Behar exceeded the number which had been decided or dismissed from the file in the course of the five preceding years. In 1812 the Court of Directors were so distressed at the accumulation of suits in Madras as to say—

"We should be very sorry, that from the accumulation of such arrears, there should ever be reason to raise a question, whether it were better to leave the natives to their own arbitrary and precipitate tribunals, than to harrass their feelings, and injure their property, by an endless procrastination of their suits, under the pretence of more deliberate justice."

An article by Mr. Marshman, in the *Calcutta Review* for January 1845, is more encouraging. He writes—

Of the various modifications which have been introduced into our judicial institutions during the last fifteen years, one main object has been to prevent the lingering of suits in the various Courts, and to give the suitors the blessing of an expeditious decision, even when it was found difficult to give them a cheap or perhaps an equitable decision. So far as the rapid disposal of cases is a national benefit, it has been in a great measure attained in the Company's Courts at this Presidency. The average duration of a suit in the Sadar Court in 1829 was forty months; in 1843 it was only fifteen months. In the Zillah Courts, it has been reduced during this period from thirty-six months to six months and a half; in those of the Sadar Amin from ten months to five months and a half, and in those of the Munsif from six months and a half to four and a half.

In the same article Mr. Marshman speaks of the Munsif as being the poor man's judge, and says, that redress in 99 cases of Civil injustice out of a hundred, is given exclusively through the Munsif. This is rhetorical, unless Mr. Marshman is referring to the fact that decrees, even of other Courts, were

generally executed by the Munsif. Further on he tells us, that three-fourths of the suits instituted are preferred to the Munsifs. His figures are—total institutions for 1843, 180,303, instituted before the Munsifs, 136,474, *i. e.*, nearly four-fifths of the whole. In 1888 the proportion of institutions before the Munsifs was still greater, 397,797 out of a total of 452,533 institutions in the Mofussil Courts having been preferred to the Munsifs: This gives a ratio of over seven-eighths, and, as was noted in my former article, the ratio will become still greater if the intention of the Legislature be carried out, and the Munsifs' jurisdiction raised to Rs. 2,000. Unfortunately the length of time that cases remain pending in the Munsifs' Courts has not been materially shortened since Mr. Marshman's time, if we exclude cases tried under the Small Cause Court procedure. It was then $4\frac{1}{2}$ months, and now it is 3 months and 19 days. But it should be remembered that when Mr. Marshman wrote, Munsifs only tried cases up to Rs. 300 in value; it is not unlikely, too, that his figures include uncontested cases. No return appears to be made of the average duration of cases on the original side of the High Court. Accordingly to popular report, it much exceeds (at least for some classes of cases) that of cases in the Mofussil. Good as the results shown in Statement Q may be admitted to be, they compare badly with those attained in the quiet Punjab, where the average duration of contested suits is thirty days, and that of uncontested cases thirty-one days. Apparently it does not matter much there, as far as regards the expenditure of time, whether a defendant fight or flee. In either case he is rapidly disposed of.

In order, however, to judge correctly of the despatch of business, we ought to have a statement of the average duration of execution of decree cases as well as of original suits. It has often been said that in this country, a man's troubles begin when he obtains a decree, and the immense number of infructuous applications for execution lends support to the remark. This difficulty seems to exist all over India. The Punjab Court defends itself by saying that, though the proportion of infructuous decrees is large, it is not greater there than it is in some other provinces where the Courts have more time to devote to executive business. It also says, that it cannot be assumed that a high percentage of wholly infructuous decrees necessarily implies inefficiency of action on the part of the Courts.

Codification.

The Indian Government was early impressed with the desirability of codification. In 1793 Marquis Cornwallis began one of his Regulations as follows: "It is essential to

the future prosperity of the British territories in Bengal, that all Regulations which may be passed by Government affecting in any respect the rights, persons, or property of their subjects, should be formed into a regular code." These words were quoted and adopted by 37 Geo. III. c. 142, sec. 58 passed in 1797. No single Regulation or Act, however, contained all or even most of the rules of procedure. These had to be searched for in various Regulations and Acts, and in the Circulars and Constructions of the Sadr Diwani. Latterly the great resource of the Courts and of practitioners was Marshman's Guide to the Civil Law of the Presidency of Fort William. This work was first published at Serampore in 1842, and at a time when that town was still a Danish possession. A second edition was published in 1848. The work is a storehouse of information about our old courts and their procedure, and is not the least of the many benefits which have come to India from the now fallen settlement of Serampore. There was an earlier book—an Abstract of the Civil Regulations—which was compiled by Mr. Augustus Prinsep of the Civil Service. Shore praises this book highly, and says it will reflect lasting credit on Mr. Prinsep's name. But alas, who now knows of Mr. Augustus Prinsep or his book! * One feature of the old system was a voluminous system of pleadings. Each party was allowed to file two statements of his case, and thus we had a plaint or answer, a reply and a rejoinder. These would be entered in the decrees, and hence such documents were often several yards long. Our legislators seem now to have erred on the other side, for they have enacted that in the large and important branch of the Civil Law, which relates to rent suits, no defendant shall be allowed to file a written defence without the leave of the Court. It is to be hoped that the Courts will always give such leave, for experience teaches that the filing of a written statement is a great safeguard against injustice, and that it also leads to a saving of time.

The Code of Civil Procedure was not passed till after the Mutiny. It was entitled an Act for simplifying the procedure of the Courts of Civil Judicature not established by Royal Charter. Though it only became law in 1859, it had long been on the anvil. It was, indeed, one of the outcomes of a statute of William the Fourth which was passed in 1833, and provided for the appointment of India Law Commissioners, who were to enquire into all forms of judicial procedure in force in British India. These Commissioners prepared a draft code.†

* Mr. Marshman, however, acknowledges his indebtedness to it.

† Apparently the first draft of all was made by Mr. Millett, for Mr. Marshman in the preface to his first edition, speaks of his obligations

This was revised in 1853 by Messrs. Mills and Harington, and then the revised draft was submitted to another body of Law Commissioners in England. Their draft was again revised and became law as Act VIII of 1859, the Bill being brought in and carried under the management of Sir Barnes Peacock. It was a first attempt, and defects were soon discovered in it. These were amended from time to time, but at last the superstructure of embodying Acts and case law became too great, and Act VIII was repealed and Act X of 1877 enacted in its place. This, however, was confessedly too hurriedly passed, and soon had itself to be amended by Act XII of 1879. Three years afterwards Act X was repealed, and Act XIV of 1882 was enacted. This, too, has been a great deal altered and amended especially by Act VII of 1888.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the Civil Procedure Code is of universal application. Much of it does not apply to the Small Cause and Rent Courts, and there are also parts which do not apply to the High Court. It is curious that the sections which prescribe the mode of recording evidence do not apply to the High Court. Hence that Court is freed from the embarrassing rule, that the evidence recorded must be read over to the witness. Theoretically it may seem proper that the witness should have an opportunity of learning if his statement has been taken down correctly, and, if this was the whole extent of the law's requirements, they might not be so impracticable. But the reading must take place in the presence of the Judge and of the parties and their pleaders. The law does not even allow of the record being handed over to the witness in order that he may read it quietly and at his leisure. Depositions often fill many pages, and the necessity of reading them over is no inconsiderable obstruction to business. Nor does it appear that any good results from the practice, for the clerk generally gabbles over the deposition, and the witness cannot follow him.

It will probably soon be found necessary to revise the Code and enact a new one; the provisions about the recording of evidence may then be amended.

Mr. Field has expressed a well founded regret that no machinery exists in India for working new material into the Codes during the intervals between the periodical revisions to which the Codes are subjected. He points out that a standing Law Commission was one of Austin's ideas for codification.

to the Civil Code drafted by Mr. Millett, and says it has been superseded by the appointment of the Law Commission. An account of the labours of the Law Commission will be found in Mr. Phillips' article on "Indian Codification" in this Review for April 1889.

There can be no doubt that the Code has been a great boon to India. It has introduced order where there was formerly chaos, and it has in common with the other Codes, been a powerful educational instrument. Section 10 which declares that no person shall, by reason of his descent or place of birth, be, in any Civil proceeding, exempted from the jurisdiction of any of the Courts, is in itself a Charter of Rights, and a proclamation of the gospel of equality. It is not, indeed, the case that this principle was enunciated for the first time in the Code of 1859. It first appeared apparently in Act XI of 1836, and its operation was extended in 1843 to the Courts of the *Munsifs*.* Complaints have been made about the *res judicata* section, and about the needless elaboration of the provisions about discovery and inspection, and of the demoralising effects of the affidavit-system, but it is difficult to see how such defects, if they be defects, could be remedied.

(*Costliness of our Courts*)—What really is a melancholy reflection is, that the goodness of the Code does not prevent our system of distributing justice from being expensive, dilatory and uncertain. Substantive law is for the most part still uncodified, and is therefore vague and uncertain. Our Courts, also, are too few in number and too expensive. It is difficult for a poor man to get justice except at a ruinous loss. All the good that the Code has done would probably have been exceeded by a simple measure reducing the amount of Court fees! Some years ago there was a great agitation about altering the Rent law. Many able men took part in the discussions, and the Bengal Tenancy Act has been hailed as a great triumph of legislative skill. But the grand objects of enabling landlords to get their rent, and of protecting the ryots from evictions, would have been better secured by the stroke of some autocrat's pen halving or quartering the institution fees, than by the elaborate provisions of the new Act. The costliness of our system is the great objection to it, and one which goes far to neutralise its advantages over rough and ready modes of dispensing justice. The institution fees are not the only ones which press heavily on the people. Indeed, suitors say they do not care so much for them as their amounts are fixed and known, and they can avoid them by not going into Court. But it is hard to stop when once one has embarked on litigation; and it is after this that the miscellaneous charges, such as copying charges, affidavit charges, witnesses's expenses

* Previous to 1793. British subjects residing in the interior could only be sued in the Supreme Court, but by Regulation 28 of that year, no British subject was allowed to reside more than ten miles from Calcutta, unless he gave a bond binding himself to submit to the jurisdiction of the local *dewani adalat* in all suits not exceeding Rs. 500 *Sicca* in value.

begin. Take for example the paper books, *i.e.*, printed translations of pleadings so generally required in the High Court. Their cost is often out of all proportion to the value of the property in suit. It is curious that when Sir Charles Wood penned his dispatch in 1862, he suggested that the necessity for translations might be obviated by constituting Division Courts of "Judges trained in the country, whose knowledge of the Native language would obviate the expense and delay of translating the proceedings." We have now not only Judges trained in the country, but Judges who are Natives, and yet one does not hear of translations being dispensed with. Apparently, paper books in English are required even though the Divisional Bench may consist of two Bengalees! In such a polyglot country as India, translations must occasionally be necessary, but this is a very different thing from making translations the rule. In very many cases a transcript in the Roman character would be all that was required. For example, few can read a Marwari's document, but most men who have learned as much Hindustani as is contained in Forbes' Manual, could, with the help of a dictionary, make out the meaning of the paper when set before them in the Roman character.

The necessity, however, for translations or transliterations could be greatly reduced by the establishment of Appellate Benches, as was proposed some years ago. These would, in fact, be only a revival of the Provincial Courts of Appeal created by Regulation V of 1793. There were four of these, *viz.* at Alipore, Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna. We have now Orissa to manage, and also Assam, so that it might be necessary to have five Appellate Benches. If the Patna Appellate were composed of judges familiar with Urdu and Nagari, the Orissa Branch of Judges familiar with Oorya and so on, their would be little or no need for translations. The work of the Post-Office would also be reduced. It almost makes one dizzy to think of the enormous quantities of judicial records which are continually passing to and fro between Calcutta and the Mofussil. They seem to darken the air like—

"The unaccomplished work of nature's hand
Abortive, monstrous or unkindly mixt."

which filled the limbo traversed by the fiend on his route to Eden

Court Fees.

There seems no doubt that the institution fees in India are higher than in other countries, though India is notoriously a poor country. Sir Richard Garth, writing in England, says "People here would hardly believe, that before a man can bring a suit in India upon a bond for Rs. 10,000, he has to pay a duty to the revenue of Rs. 475." When Marquis Cornwallis introduced his new system of Courts, the institution fees were

abolished. It is stated in the 5th Report that this indulgence was soon found to be productive of such an inundation of suits, as was likely to put a stop to the course of justice altogether, and so Government was obliged to have recourse again, in 1795, to an institution fee, as well as to fees on exhibits. Similarly Mr. Field tells us, that it was soon discovered that it was possible to make justice too cheap, and that the result of abolishing all fees was to encourage groundless and litigious suits. Mr. F. J. Shore, however, states that Cornwallis's system had not a far trial, and that the real cause of its failure was that a sufficient number of Courts were not established. He also says that the plan was radically wrong in one respect, that of excluding all natives of respectability from any share in the government of their own country. Similarly, Sir Henry Strachey says: "The fact appears to be this: when the business of the Civil Courts became too heavy for the Judge, which very soon happened, instead of appointing more Judges, it was resolved that, to prevent the accumulation of causes, it was necessary to check the spirit of litigiousness which was supposed to produce it." We learn from the 5th Report how ruthlessly the new engine for suppressing law suits was worked. The Regulation of 1795 had retrospective effect:—

"Causes already instituted were, for the greater part, got rid of by a requisition for the deposit fee to be paid on them within a limited time. The suitors, in general, being from local distance, uninformed of what has intended to be done, or from want of confidence in their cause, indifferent to it, or from poverty unable to avert it by the payment required; no greater number of suits remained on the file when the period for dismissing them arrived, than appeared to be manageable; and the Judges recommenced the exercise of their functions, so far disencumbered, as allowed them to entertain a better prospect than had yet been enjoyed, of their being able to fulfil the object of their several appointments."

It will be seen that one of the provisions of the Regulation of 1795 was to levy fees on exhibits. It has been proposed to revise this system, and it has been urged that the plan of charging fees from time to time and according to the work done, *e. g.* for each hearing day, is more equitable than that of charging a heavy institution fee, which is the same whether a case is defended or decreed *ex parti*. It would appear from Sir Henry Strachey that the plan did not work well:—

"It is not the original fee on the institution of the suit, but the subsequent charges on exhibits and on witnesses, that appear to be intolerable. I have often seen a suitor, when stripped of his last rupee and called upon for the fee on a document, produce in court a silver ring or other trinket and beg that it might be received as a pledge; and after all, perhaps, he was cast for want of money to bring proof. I confess, I think such scenes in a Court of Justice, unpleasant to those who are entrusted with the administration of justice, and not very creditable to Government."

Indian Governments have tried many contrivances for defraying the expense of administering civil justice. Probably in old times judges was chiefly paid by nazars, or presents. Orme in his paper written in 1753, thus describes the mode of instituting a suit :—

‘ The plaintiff discovers himself by crying aloud, Justice ! Justice ! until attention is given to his importunate clamours. He is then ordered to be silent, and to advance before his judge ; to whom, after having prostrated himself, and made his offering of a piece of money, he tells his story in the plainest manner, with great humility of voice and gesture, and without any of those oratorical embellishments which compose an art in freer nations.

‘ The wealth, the consequence, the interest, in the address of the party, becomes now the only considerations. He visits his judge in private, and gives the jar of oil ; his adversary bestows the hog which breaks it. The friends who can influence, intercede ; and excepting when the case is so manifestly proved as to brand the failure of redress with glaring infamy (a restraint which human nature is bound to reverence) the value of the bribe ascertains the justice of the cause. This is so avowed a practice, that if a stranger should enquire, how much it would cost him to recover a just debt from a debtor who evaded payment, he would everywhere receive the same answer—the Government will keep one fourth, and give you the rest.’

The above quotation refers to the Mohamedan practice of levying from the successful party a share of the property recovered. This had the merit of making payment depend on the work done. The share was commonly a fourth, and hence was called Chauth.* This cess, as well as the similar cesses of Panchatra (one-fifth), Dasatra (one-tenth) and Itlák (fees for deliverance, *i. e.* decision) were abolished absolutely and for ever by Warren Hastings in 1772.† But it is a mistake to suppose that all institution fees were then done away with, and that justice was perfectly free down to 1795. Mr. Field explains that this was the case, (p. 167) but it is certain that if fees were abolished in 1772, they were re-imposed long before 1795. This appears from Cornwallis's Minute of 11th February 1793. In paragraph 53 he writes, that the 44th and 45th articles of the judicial Regulations ‡

* According to Wilson's Glossary, the Chauth was probably only 4 annas per Rs. 100.

† These cesses were abolished by article 16 of the Regulations of 21 August 1772, but the exemption was followed by the curious proviso, that in order to curb and restrain trivial and groundless complaints, the Court had a discretion in most cases to impose a fine not exceeding five rupees, or to inflict corporal punishment not exceeding twenty lashes with a rattan, according to the degree of the offence and the persons station in life. In those days kicks were apparently four times more plentiful than rupis (Colebrook's Supplement, p. 4.)

‡ The reference is to the General Regulations passed in Council on 5th July 1781. (Colebrooke's Supplement, 66.) This General Regulation

which require a deposit of from two to five per cent. from the plaintiff upon his institution of a suit, should be abolished. His Lordship goes on to remark that the two Regulations in question were enacted to check the supposed litigiousness of the natives, but that the number of causes depending in the several Courts, is a proof that the Regulations have not been productive of the intended effect.

"The fact is that the evil which this regulation is intended to obviate is ascribed to a wrong cause. It is not to be attributed to the litigiousness of the people, but with more truth to the dilatoriness and inefficiency of the administration of justice. From the Collectors * not having time to attend to the judicial business, many years often elapsed before suits were brought to a decision. This delay encourages the evil minded to withhold what is due from them, or institute prosecutions to gratify private resentment. They are certain that a great length of time will elapse before the cause is brought to a decision, and trust that by some means or other, they shall be able to force their opponent into a compromise or obtain their ends. If they have the property in their possession, they are, at all events, sure of enjoying it until the decision of the suit. The above causes account for the many thousand claims that are now depending in some of the Courts."

The truth then is, that the system of cheap justice never had a fair trial in India. Cornwallis introduced it in 1793, but he did not provide sufficient conduits to carry off the rush of suits, and so there was stagnation and overflow. And no sooner was his back turned, then Lord Teignmouth reverted to the old system and re-established institution fees. Instead of the system of cheap justice being twenty years in operation as some have thought, it barely lasted for two, for Cornwallis's

consisted of ninety four articles, and was partly founded on a code prepared in the previous year by Sir Elijah Impey. Among the declared objects of the General Regulation was the forming of a consistent code, and the establishment of one general table of fees in and throughout the Courts of Mofussil Diwani Adalats,--and the enabling the inhabitants to know to what Courts they should apply for justice, and "that learning the utmost of the costs which may be incurred in their suits (they) may not, from apprehension of being involved in exorbitant and unforeseen expenses, or of being subjected to fines or extortions of the officers of the Court, be deterred from prosecuting their just claims." Burke referred to this institution fee in his speech on Fox's East Indian Bill, delivered 1st December 1783. "To maintain these eighteen Courts (the Civil Courts established 1781), a tax is levied on the sums in litigation of 2½ per cent. on the great, and of 5 per cent. on the less. This money is all drawn from the provinces to Calcutta. The Chief Justice, the same who stays in defiance of a vote of this House, and of His Majesty's recall (Sir Elijah Impey) is appointed at once the treasurer and disposer of these taxes, levied without any sort of authority from the Company, from the Crown, or from Parliament.

There was a similar provision for the levy of a percentage on suits in the Regulations of 11th April 1780 (Article 36, Colebrooke p. 21.)

* The Collectors were from 1787 to 1793 in charge of the Civil Courts.

Regulations were passed on 1st May 1793, and Regulation 38 of 1795 imposing institution fees, was enacted on 10th April 1795. It is well known, too, that the plan of stopping litigation by institution fees did not succeed, and that in 1799 a special law and special forum had to be erected for the disposal of rent-suits. I do not say that Cornwallis was right in abolishing institution-fees or that his successor was wrong to re-impose them. This is a point of procedure which is still unsettled. But the supporters of Court-fees ought not to say that the system of free justice has been conclusively tried in India and been found to be a failure.

Regulation 40 of 1793 is remarkable as the first step taken by the British Government for the extensive employment of natives. It created a body of men called native Commissioners who were to be employed in three ways, *viz.*, as referees (Amins) as arbitrators (Salisan), and as Munsifs. Their powers were limited to cases not exceeding fifty-six rupees in value, and the Munsifs could only take cognisance of cases against under-renters or ryots. Mr. Field in his excellent edition of the Regulations observes, that natives had been employed in this way from the beginning. Article 11 of the Regulations of 1772 directed that all disputes of property not exceeding ten rupees should be decided by the head farmer of the pargana to which the parties belonged, and that his decree was to be final. "Regulation 40 of 1793 however largely extended their (natives) employment and jurisdiction. Those who say that the system of Lord Cornwallis wholly closed the public service against natives, appear not to have sufficiently considered the provisions of the Regulation." But perhaps Mr. Field, when he wrote thus, had forgotten that the Native Commissioners received no pay either for themselves or their establishments. Their office was purely honorary, and was perhaps not a little burdensome. Regulation 78 of 1795 amended their position, by giving them the institution fees, *viz.*, one anna on the rupee, or rather more than six per cent. of the value of the suit.* We should give honour to whom honour is due. Lord Cornwallis was a high-minded nobleman, but he certainly did little for the advancement of natives. The pioneer in this respect was apparently Lord William Bentinck. It is probable, however, that Lord Cornwallis was on the right track when he tried to enlist the aid of intelligent native laymen in the administration of civil justice. His scheme was that landed proprietors, creditable merchants, traders and shopkeepers should be appointed native Commissioners and

* The Commissioners, however, only got this fee when the suits were decided on the merits, or were compromised, so that presumably they did not get it in the majority of cases.

should get powers as Munsifs, if the Judges and Sadar Divani approved of them. I think it is to be regretted that there is nothing in Bengal corresponding to the village Munsif in Madras. The point where our system breaks down is in its dealing with petty cases. We cannot dispose of suits under Rs. 10 in value with sufficient economy and despatch. Why should we not have a system of Honorary Munsifs corresponding to that of Honorary Magistrates which is said to have worked so well, and which, at all events, is a necessity. There are many retired pleaders and judicial officers in the Mofussil who could be vested with civil powers.* The great advantage of the plan of Native Commissioners was, as remarked by the authors of the 5th Report, that they could be indefinitely increased in number, at no expense to the State. As a matter of fact the bulk of the judicial work was done by them. For example in 1801 the native Commissioners disposed of 328,064 cases, while the judges and their assistants, (known as Registers) only disposed of 22,422. A table given by Harington, p. 98, shows that for the year 1797 to 1801, the cases decided by the Native Commissioners in Bengal, Behar, Orissa and Benares were counted by lacs, and those by the Judges and their Registers by thousands. The actual figures are 16,14,801 by the native Commissioners, 17,844 by the Registers, and 7,082 by the Judges. Harington observes on these figures that they show the absolute impossibility of providing for the trial and decision of the numerous cases of litigation which occur in these extensive and populous provinces, without the aid of some description of inferior judicatures under Native superintendence.

In 1803 the powers of Native Commissioners were enlarged by the appointment of Head Commissioners or Sadar Amins, who had jurisdiction up to Rs. 100. The Native Commissioners were badly paid, and perhaps, sometimes badly selected, and they occasionally were unsatisfactory. They seem, however, on the whole, to have done their work well. The following is Sir Henry Strachey's account of them (9th Report p 541.)

When a Native Commissioner is tolerably qualified, and incorrupt, no great knowledge of the Regulations is requisite; he decides with the greatest ease a vast number of causes. He is perfectly acquainted with the language, the manners, and even the persons and characters of almost all who come before him. Hence perjury is very uncommon in his Court. To us, his proceedings may appear frequently tedious or frivolous, and generally, irregular and informal; but we are very apt to judge from a false standard. I am fully convinced, that a Native of common capacity will, after a little experience, examine witnesses and

* I notice that a suggestion to this effect has recently been made by Babu Janoki Nath Roy at a meeting of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.

investigate the most intricate case, with more temper and perseverance, with more ability and effect, than almost any European. The Native Commissioners decide only petty causes, and their emoluments* are but scanty. They occasionally find difficulty in maintaining their authority, but they should always be supported against the contumacious. Their procedure, as far as I have had occasion to observe, is, with few exceptions, just what it ought to be: they hear and write down almost whatever the parties may choose to say; and it is not a small advantage that they are able to sit the whole of the day, without being incommoded by heat or crowds; that they listen to and understand every one, and that they are seldom provoked either by their amlah, or by the parties, to lose their temper. They sit from morning till night on a mat under a shed or tent, or in the porch of a house, and attend to every petty dispute of the ryots with a degree of patience of which we have no idea, till they develop the merits, and decide the suit. I cannot help wishing, that their situations were more respectable in a pecuniary point of view; and that they were empowered to decide causes to almost any amount. At present, in this Zillah, (Midnapore) few of the Native Commissioners can earn more than a bare subsistence; therefore, it cannot be expected that the best qualified and most respectable men should undertake the office.

When a suit is filed in a Munsif's sherista, it is taken up immediately—there is no time or opportunity for the fabrication of a defence, or subornation of perjury. The Munsif is, as it were, in the society of the parties, and they cannot easily deceive him. But if that cause comes before the Zillah Judge, besides the inevitable delay and expense at the outset, the case is probably wholly changed; intrigue and counter complaints occur, the most impudent falsehoods are advanced with impunity, and on that, perhaps, an erroneous decision is passed. Should it here occur that very few, if any, natives are qualified from habit and education to pronounce a decision, or to comprehend a complicated judicial case; that the range of their ideas is too narrow; that their minds are cramped, and that they possess not that vigour and perseverance, and those enlarged views, which would enable them to perform the duty of judges: if there is any one of this opinion, I would take the liberty to ask, how it is possible that natives in general should, in the miserably subordinate and servile employments to which they are confined, have qualified themselves better? I would observe how very easily they all acquire the requisite qualifications for the duties which we are pleased to extend to them. I would ask, who can doubt that they would very shortly, if not depressed and dispirited, become at least equal to the functions they performed, before we came among them.'

Sir Henry Strachey was evidently a gentleman of benevolence and intelligence, and was no doubt an excellent public servant. But many of his views are such as are unfashionable now-a-days, and would, I suppose, be set down by many as shocking instances of prejudice. He seems almost to have preferred such *pied poudre* Courts as those of the Native Commissioners to our elaborate Adalats. His remarks were

* Written in January 1802.

made in answer to interrogatories circulated by Lord Wellesley. One of them was—Has the moral character of the inhabitants in general improved, or otherwise, by the system established by the British Government for the administration of the laws, and for the conduct of the internal administration of the country? The following is part of his reply—

I beg leave here to offer it as my opinion that little morality is learnt in any Court of Justice. In Calcutta, I have reason to believe, the morals of the people are worse, in spite of the severity of the police, and of the English laws. Nor do I attribute this solely to the size, population, and indiscriminate society of the capital; but in part to the Supreme Court. I scarcely ever knew a native connected with the Supreme Court, whose morals and manners were not contaminated by that connection. In mentioning this evil, which I by no means attribute to individuals, I trust it will not be imagined I mean to speak generally with disrespect of the institution of the Court itself.

*Note :—*In the *Gazette of India* for 11th January last, there is a Resolution on the cost of Civil Justice in India, according to which the expenditure exceeds the receipts by $12\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. Only in Bengal is there any surplus, and that is stated to be $14\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs. In making the calculations, the value of the court-fee stamps on probates, letters of administration, and certificates was excluded. It is difficult, however, to see why these receipts were excluded. They are the product of the work of the Civil Courts, and if the latter did not exist, the fees could not be collected. At all events, if these receipts are to be excluded, then the salaries of Judges when they are engaged in trying Will cases, &c. should not be charged against Civil Justice. The labour employed in these cases belongs to the most expensive department of the judicial machinery, for it is that of High Court and District Judges. It cannot be doubted, I think, that about a thirtieth part of the time of the District Judges in Bengal is taken up with the trial of Will cases, &c. In other words the annual salary of one Judge (Rs. 30,000) should be struck out of the expenditure on Civil Justice if the receipts from probate-stamps are excluded. A similar deduction should be made in the case of the time of the High Court Judges. Probably, the total amount to be deducted (including the salaries of ministerial officers employed on Will-cases, &c.) would be considerably over a lakh of rupees.

H. BEVERIDGE.

ART. IV.—CAMEOS OF INDIAN DISTRICTS.*

II.—Cuttack and Balasore.

THIS cameo was called Cuttack and Balasore, but the first part of it treated of Balasore alone. I propose giving an account of the larger and more important District of Cuttack in this paper. After the varied features of life and work in Balasore, it seemed at first sight as though a description of Cuttack would, of necessity, be common-place. The work certainly does not present anything like the variety which characterized a Collector's work in Balasore. Political duties and their judicial accompaniments, no longer occupy his attention. He lies widowed of the power in the eye which bowed the world of Kols and Sonthals. But the duties are still something out of the usual routine which an ordinary district furnishes, and there is an amount of novelty in the place itself which marks Cuttack as something different to the average Bengal District. To begin with, the mariner, as in Balasore, comes across one's sphere. To attend to his wants one must go to Hookey Tollah, where oysters, such as I have never seen out of England, abound. They thrive in the low jungle growing at the edge of the water, and range from the size of an ordinary English Native up to about that of a *sola topee*. The smaller ones are almost equal to English oysters, and the larger ones are excellent for cooking purposes. I mentioned in my last paper that a Collector's duties included those connected with the Church. I little thought when writing it how soon the truth of my remark was to be illustrated. The Padre was away on outstation duty when a very brunette pair insisted on my marrying them before the Padre's return. So well and truly did I tie the knot, that some time afterwards another pair came for the same purpose. They could not plead urgency, so I declined the task. The fact of the first couple having come about a month after the ceremony, to beg from me, and to *claim* my assistance on the ground that I had joined their future lives together, may have had something to do with cooling my ecclesiastical ardour. To my great astonishment I was asked on joining the District to act as Commandant of the Volunteers. Now I know something about the sea from my early bringing up on the west coast of Ireland, but, of the pomp and circumstance

*Continued from No. CLXXVII. for July 1889 p. 140.

of war, I am profoundly ignorant. I did, it is true, see the streets of Sligo once cleared by a charge, but that, I felt, hardly qualified me to consider myself a man of war. I played more the part of a newspaper war correspondent on the occasion of the charge as I watched it from the windows of the Post Office. I have been now for nearly two years at the head of the corps, and I have never repented taking up what appeared at first to me to be an utterly incongruous post. It has enabled me to know a lot of men amongst the poorer members of the corps, of whose life and ways one would have been ignorant, and to see in them a capacity for coming together and enjoying themselves at cricket, on the stage, and at the festive board, which one does not associate in one's mind with the Eurasian. Some of these men support families on very small pay. They (I speak of those in Cuttack), are a sober, well-behaved set of men, and one's sympathies for that class, which have always been strong, have not been weakened by knowing them more intimately in the ranks of a Volunteer Corps.

Now, I suppose, it is time I told people something of Cuttack and the district. The great evil of Cuttack is that it is so cut off from the outer world. You can only go comfortably to Calcutta twice a week. You can go on other days by the Coast Canal, but the Coast Canal steamers go in for pilgrims alone, and do not profess to feed and look after the ordinary first-class passenger. Now, a pilgrim from the time of John Bunyan downwards is an interesting study. He is a person for whose benefit you would build a hospital or introduce a Lodging House Act—but, in large numbers, on a small steam launch, he ceases to be interesting. When he lies of a hot night outside your cabin door, and that too at the bottom of a lock, he becomes utterly uninteresting, not to say objectionable, and you begin to wish him in his hospital or his lodging house, or anywhere out of your neighbourhood. Your returning pilgrim too exercises a depressing effect from a spiritual point of view. He has been to Puri and has seen the great god, but he is returning a sadder and a wiser man. He has, it is true, been enriched by an umbrella, and a parcel of objectionably smelling food, but he is weary and foot sore and completely robbed. The difference between the pilgrim setting out for Puri and the same man returning, is about as striking as that presented by the French soldiers when escorting the ammunition waggons labelled A' Berlin, out of Paris, and the same individuals seated in those waggons on their way to Berlin as prisoners of war. We were once the victims of a carriage accident, or, rather the *budzati* of a horse on the Grand Trunk Road, and I asked certain returning pilgrims to drag the carriage for a mile or so until we got assistance. They willing did so, and when

given a gratuity, one of them said : " We should have run it in easily before we *went* to Puri, but *now* all our strength is gone." It is to hoped that the honour paid to the returned pilgrim at home compensates in some way for the hardships he endures on the journey, otherwise he must feel that he has spent his strength for that which profiteth not.

I began to describe Cuttack, and I have digressed to pilgrims. However, to return, I was not so sure that the inaccessibility of Cuttack is an unmixed evil. It is so, perhaps, in the two hot-weather months when the canal is closed, and it is almost impossible to get supplies from Calcutta, the land at this time being thirsty ; but otherwise, people in Cuttack seem reconciled to their exile. In the first place the fact of being in an out-of-the-way station, draws people together more than if Calcutta is easily accessible, and Calcutta amusements can be easily got at. Cuttack people have to get up their own amusements, and they are fairly successful in doing so. There is an Amateur Dramatic Society which will compare favourably with any other provincial troupe. There are tennis, racquets, billiards and whist, and there is a full Madras regiment there with an excellent band. So that little dances, for those who care for such frivolities, are not of rare occurrence. As for religion, you can fairly revel in it. There is a well attended English Church. There is a Roman Catholic Church, and a strong Baptist element. Swedenborgianism is represented, though the Church is but small as yet. So no man need complain of want of variety in things spiritual. The inaccessibility of Cuttack, too, keeps the place free from professional politicians. Sea sickness is a powerful deterrent to patriotism, and he who would come to Cuttack to preach Liberty, Fraternity and Equality runs the risk of having to sacrifice to Neptune both going and coming. So the foreigners that come to Cuttack come for the more prosaic object of earning their bread, and those that want a field for oratory have the Municipality to play with and are happy. Orators are however few in number. The daily round, the common task of arguing cases in Cutcherry, gives occupation to most of the foreigners from Bengal. Moreover, an agitator too has a public utterly unsympathetic as regards anything which cannot be reduced to rupees annas and pies. The average Oorya is without exception the most extraordinarily unsympathetic being in India except where his own interests are concerned. Then, he is all there. His usual mode of argument is to lie at full length on his stomach on the ground, while he gently beats the earth with his head, so as not to hurt himself but to intensify the grovel. He stays there for an indefinite time, generally until you want to go out for a walk and don't care to walk over the uneven surface presented by a number of Oorya bodies, and get the chuprassi

to remove them out of the way. This does not daunt him ; he is sure to be there when you come back, or, if you escape him by returning by another route, he is in waiting for you next morning. This mode of argument is generally used when the Oorya wishes to evade the payment of his rent or any other just due. It is much in vogue too, when he wishes to persuade an official that a famine is raging in the land, and that gratuitous relief is absolutely necessary to prevent the country perishing *en masse*. Why they do it is a mystery, for the dodge would not take in even the most rabid Radical globe trotter with his preconceived ideas of the indifference shewn by the average official to the most acute forms of (native) human suffering. It has been said by an old Orissa resident, that the importunate friend in the Bible was an Oorya, and there must be some truth in it. Some people think that the Oorya is an abject, innocent, down-trodden sort of person : one whom the zemindar robs with impunity, and one who has no idea of protecting himself. Those people do not know the Oorya. They have certainly never had any dealings with him in business. A Yankee Jew of Scottish extraction brought up in York—if there could be such a person is not so close about his money or so artful in keeping it back when it is justly due, as is the man who grovels at full length at your feet as though he were prepared to sacrifice his life at your wish." One instance will illustrate, better than much writing, how well able the Oorya peasant is to look after his interests. On the Mahdubpore estate there is an immense quantity of waste jungle land. Under the rule of the Rajah, people had no inducement to clear this land, for, when they did, it was promptly assessed and rent was demanded for it. So the jungles were left uncultivated. The Court of Wards gave inducements to the ryots to clear these jungles and the work of clearing has begun. Besides these jungle lands, there were several acres of land producing what is called Bena grass. This grass grows naturally and is used for thatching. The lands on which it grew were promising, but the ryots did not, under native rule, take the trouble to bring these under cultivation for the same reason that they did not clear the jungles. When the Court of Wards came into possession and the ryot saw that there would be a return for his money, he promptly cleared away the Bena grass and commenced to sow paddy. He then had the effrontery to call this clearing jungle, and to object to pay even the rent he paid before for the land when it was under thatching grass.

The physical aspects of the station of Cuttack are singularly pretty. The town is built on an inland formed by the junction of the rivers Mahanuddy and Katjouri. The banks further from Cuttack are fringed with well-wooded hills, and in the rains, when

the rivers are in flood, the view, either from the Commissioner's house or the Katjouri, or from the backs of the houses in the cantonments looking on the Mahanuddy, is singularly picturesque. The station itself is mainly in the cantonments, and is built round a parade ground beautifully kept and fringed with fine trees. The fort stands at the western extremity of the cantonments. It is approached by an old gateway, and was described by an old French traveller as being like a part of Windsor Castle. It must have been most interesting until the P. W. D. removed the stones of it to build False Point Light House. It is inconceivable how this was allowed,—a more complete act of vandalism can hardly be conceived. It is not as though stone was not to be had in the district. It is in abundance at the Chawdwar quarries and elsewhere, but *the* Department must needs destroy a monument of ancient history to build a light-house which they could very well have been built without this act of vandalism. No one would dream of comparing the relative utility of a light-house with that of an ancient fort, but when it is a case, to parody the great Irish lyric:—

“They might have let the poor fort live and just as useful been.”

One feels tempted to have some words to apply to the removers of that stone work. If only in these days of Public Works æstheticism they would whitewash the fort gate, Cuttack will be a *κτῆμα εἰς αἰῶν* to the P. W. D. Cuttack is pretty enough close by the station, but to see really lovely scenery, a journey up the Mahanuddy is required. Within an easy ride of the station, and by a charming river trip *coming down* but not *going up*, is Naraj; this is a gorge formed by hills on either side of the Mahanuddy, on the south side is Naraj itself. Here are some stone quarries and a most romantic bungalow built in the rock overhanging the river. It boasts its lover's leap, where two distracted lovers took a farewell leap into eternity. That must have been before the days when instead of leaping off the rock, they could have gone over to the Collector's house and got married in a more prosaic manner, and then lived, quarrelled and made up their quarrels like the people do now. The further up the river you go the more beautiful does the scenery become, until you reach the Tributary estate at Burmal, where the great river narrows into a gorge of surprising beauty. At Banki and Bordeshur, in the Banki Khas-mahal or Government estate, the scenery more resembles that on one of the Irish lakes than any thing I have seen in this country. I speak, of course, of the rains when the river is full. I have seen some sunsets in the rains of '88 on that river that made me regret that painting never formed one of my accomplishments.

What a pity, from an artistic point of view, it is that the black cloud on the famine map of '75-76 never descended so far as Orissa. I am writing this paper in scenery which is almost equally beautiful. I am going up the High Level Canal in a boat. It may seem an anachronism to couple the name High Level Canal with beauty of scenery. One associates it with the dull flat scenery of one of our English canals, but it is wrong to do so. This canal goes at the foot of all the Durpan and Mahadubpore hills, and it would seem as though the P. W. D. was for once led out of its nature to drive a canal where the water sets off to some extent the natural beauty of the country. Wooded hills come almost down to the banks of the canal, and the water just gives the frame work which is only wanting to set off the beauty of these small but exquisitely picturesque hills. Mahadubpore, the seat of an old independent territory, is in itself a model of picturesque scenery. The Rajbari, and a very beautiful temple are built at the foot of a densely wooded hill, and the road from one's tent to the *khillah* is more like a road through an English park than one in any part of the provinces governed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. You can wander about there through scenery vividly bringing back parts of "the most distressful country" to your mind. Until an Excise Inspector (though he too smacks of the gauge) or a Head Clerk brings your mind down to the Board of Revenue and things useful though prosaic. One of the most delightful parts of Cuttack, though devoid of any land scenery, is the sea face. I am one of those who can see beauty whenever a sea wave rolls in, and a walk along the beach at Hookey Tollah is certainly a new life after an existence in, say, Jessore. On the calmest evening, you get the full force of the sea thundering on a beach as hard as any sands could be, but when "the wind bloweth in from the sea," or when there has been a bit of dirty weather in the Bay, the rollers are something grand. Bathing is a failure there. In the first place if you go far enough out for a swim, you are liable to have to try conclusions with a shark. This is in itself enough to take away from the enjoyment of a bathe. Then if you stand under the breakers and let them pour over you, your hair and eyes and nose get filled with sand and shells. Even the sea cannot behave itself in Bengal like it does in other countries. There is one form of amusement which the beach in Cuttack gives, dear to the hearts of children, and even of grown up persons, and that is the pursuit of the "*Lal kenkra*" or red crab. We are all familiar with the cartoon of the Irishman standing in raptures before a case of gold fish and saying—"Begora, I niver seen red herrins

alive before." He would be inclined to say the same regarding boiled lobsters could he spend an hour on the beach below the Refuge House at Hookey Tollah. The beach swarms with these little red crabs, and when you think you have caught one, he disappears under the sand in a hole as quick as lightening. No one can catch them like a native boatman: he does so the more eagerly for visions of a curry rise before him. He chiefly circumvents the *Lal kenkra* with his foot. A dribble under Association football rules is tame compared with the way in which one of the Port Officer's boatman knocks away a red crab just as he (the crab not the boatman) thinks he has reached a haven of safety. I remember coming home one evening in a boat wherein were the spoils of an evening's hunt. They got loose in the boat to the alarm of those who were with us. The *Lal kenkra* "hath a nipping and an eager air." The pleasures of the beach are as nothing compared to the boating, I mean sailing, to be found at Hookey Tollah—apart from going out to the ships which is only one journey, you can inspect nearly all the Kujung estate, or at any rate one very large portion of it, including the Court of Wards Office, by means of a sail from Hookey Tollah. You have just to cross what from a *lucus a non lucendo* principle, is called the harbour. That is, the place where ships cannot lie. They all have to keep outside. There is one ship lying there, but she was blown in during a cyclone. The cargo and wreck were bought by some speculators. The cargo, fortunately for them, repaid the venture, for, the down-trodden Oorya has saved the purchasers any trouble in the way of removing anything valuable belonging to the wreck. Having got across the harbour, which, if it happens to be blowing hard, is trying for an elderly gentlemen whose experience of the sea is confined to a bathing machine—(it took the Port Officer and myself once from morn to dewy eve to do so) you get into a creek called the Kanassa Creek. Going up this reminds one, barring the mountain scenery, of the discriptions in "Westward Ho!" of some of the Mexican river creeks. Rank vegetation and dense jungle come close down to the water's edge. It is the home of wild beasts which there is no opportunity of getting out. This jungle could no doubt be reclaimed, and, judging from the vegetation, be made to produce anything; but, storm-waves and the like make people slow to cultivate and settle down in the place. It is not a place where one would take a farm and retire to.

Leaving the Kanassa Creek you come into the mouth of the Mahanuddy; and all up that river until you reach Tikri, the headquarters of the Kujung Estate, a wonderful expanse of cultivation spreads before you. Land is being yearly brought into

cultivation, and the Taldunda Irrigation Canal will bring a vast tract of country under the plough. This canal is almost purely used for the purposes of irrigation. On the journey to Tikri one comes across a place called Bhatmundi. This is one of those places alluded to in my Cameo of Balasore where there is an extensive storage of rice for export from False Point. It has, up to date, been without a policeman, to say nothing of a Town Hall or Municipality. They want the outpost moved in there as a terror to the bleeder of bags, not to the ordinary thief or dacoit. The people there do an immense trade. One pucca golah there was built to hold 30,000 bags of rice, and the fleet of boats that lay off the bazaar when I was there, shewed more than all the statistic that could be compiled, what the trade of the place was. The only public institution it boasts is an outstill for the benefit of the maritime population. A sailor must have his grog whether the northern seas or the more placid Mahanuddy forms the theatre of his enterprise. The people of Bhatmundi do not hunger after civil rights, their time is occupied by making money of which I have no doubt they make their share.

Cuttack last year started a war-cry. I don't mean a Salvation Army newspaper, but a shibboleth. Why it did so I never could find out ; possibly it was in view of the Lieutenant-Governor's approaching visit, but that theory will not hold water, for the poor man was pestered with the cry "Orissa wants a Railway" from the day he opened the Chandbally Hospital till the day he left the Province. The only two public occasions on which he was spared a repetition of the want, were, I believe at Church, when the pastor kindly refrained from bringing it into his sermon, and at the Volunteer inspection, when it could not by any possibility have found even an indirect place in the words of command. The war-cry to which I allude was "Orissa for the Oorryas." Now, this being interpreted meant, that all appointments in Orissa were to be given to Oorryas. This was taken up and advocated by men in other respects not qualified for admission into a lunatic asylum. If ever there was a province sunk in provincialism it is Orissa, and the salvation of the place is the influx of foreign traders, both Europeans and Trans-Oorya, and the vast outlet that the rest of India, especially Bengal, gives to Oorya artizans, labourers, and above all, domestic servants, especially bearers. On the principle of "no man is a hero to his valet." One pergunnah alone in the Cuttack District, can look down on most of the Secretariat, both Military, Civil and Engineering. Simla and Darjeeling are much more familiar places to many a bearer hailing from "Aul" in Cuttack, than they are to the rank and file of the toil worn Collectors who never get a

sniff of mountain air until they go home. Yet people, whom I have described as otherwise sane, calmly propounded this theory, that all Orissa appointments should be reserved for Ooryas. The converse of the question did not strike them, viz., that Ooryas should be confined to Orissa. The Oorya has not as yet made his way in intellectual employment abroad. It is even necessary to supplement him by foreigners in his own province, but that otherwise reasonable men should have desired to perpetuate this state of things, by still further provincializing Orissa, passes my comprehension, as it did that of others equally interested in the development of the province. It is a pretty and patriotic sentiment, but, like all sentiments when reduced to practical work, it is not so pretty.

Going up the Karunassa Creek you pass a spot with a more or less meloncholy history attached to it. It is a large open space of ground called Karunassa, and it was here, in the great famine of 1866, that the rice when brought into Orissa too late, was stored. Those who remember that famine, remember that the difficulties began when it was there, for there were no means of quickly distributing it throughout the Province. What a difference there is now!! Waterways are all over the place. From Chandbally alone the canals could feed the two districts of Cuttack and Balasore, and from the sea face at False Point, food could be sent in an emergency up the Taldunda Canals into the parts of Cuttack not accessible by canal from Chandbally. "Orissa wants a Railway" was the cry iterated *ad nauseam* to Sir Steuart Bayley on his visit in 1888. Orissa does not realize how much has been done for her, short of a Railway, since the year when men died of starvation by hundreds daily, and the famine was sore in the land. The memories of the famine of 1866 have naturally had a very tenacious hold on the minds of men in Orissa. The famine brought a number of men to grief, and there is no doubt it was generally underrated and unprovided for. One of the results of it has been, that on every slight failure of the crops, it is the fashion for certain people, some well meaning, easily gulled, and others, purely interested, to raise the cry of famine. There is no cry so easy to raise, and there is no panic so difficult to allay as that caused by such a cry. For the last two years there has been more or less a failure or a shortness of the crops in Cuttack. During both these years a persistent effort has been made by the persons I have described to what is called "start a famine." Their efforts have been unsuccessful. No one has died of famine. This year, despite a cyclone and storm with heavy rain, has brought in more than an average crop. The famine-monger, like the atrocity-monger, was all there, though when the cyclone

occured, and just before rejoining the district, I read in a Calcutta newspaper that an almost universal destruction of the crops had taken place. This when discounted came to mean, that whereas there had been the prospects of a crop such as had not been known in living memory, the cyclone and rain had occasioned a loss which reduced the crop to the level of a very good average one. This is what District Officers have to contend with, and the sooner that the public know that officials have just as much, or more interest than other people have in foreseeing and taking measures for the prevention of any possible general calamity like famine, the better. People think that because men do not go about tearing their hair and losing the head upon which it grows, that they are indifferent or careless to the signs of the times, but that such is not the case let me assure those who, from credulity believe every tale of famine which they hear. With those who try to get up famine from interested motives, Nemesis in the shape of the common or vulgar "sell" sufficiently deals, and their comments on the apathy of District Officers, like curses, come home to roost on the top of the grain bags they had stored in anticipation of a famine scare.

There is no part of India whence migration takes place on such a large scale as it does from Orissa, and no where are the benefits of it so strongly marked. At the end of each agricultural season, the steamers are crowded with men who go to Calcutta and elsewhere to earn large wages. They stay away until field work demands their labour again, and as soon as field work can be looked after by the old men, women and children, back they go again to Calcutta. The money they make abroad is spent or invested in land at home, and yet we are told that the Oorya peasant cannot look after himself or his interests. A Collector in Cuttack has singular opportunities of knowing the people of his district, for chance has placed such a portion of the district under his direct charge, that is not so in most districts of which I have had experience. Burdwan owns the vast estate of Kujong now under the Court of Wards. Kamika, the property of a lunatic, is also under that Court. Mahadhebpore for the second time passed under the Court by the accidental death of its proprietor last year, and is managed by the Collector, and last, though not least, there is the whole of the Khillah Banki (which, by the way, should, for geographical and administrative reasons, be under the Collector of Puri) is managed directly by the Collector of Cuttack. All these managements give one a direct personal knowledge of the people and their pretty ways, that no amount of purely administrative experience could give. The great redeeming feature in the Oorya character is his

intense love of country. Wherever he may be his heart yearns for his home. He may be swelling in all the pomp of scarlet and gold at Simla, or be carrying on a flirtation with an attractive Ayah at the Chowrasta in Darjeeling, but his great object is to get home, to what, to him, is a holy land. To accomplish this end he will beg, borrow, or steal, nay even, he will work. Directly the Oorya lands on Orissa soil at Chandbally, he bows himself to the earth as a greeting to the sacred soil. For one touching instance of this I can vouch: A man was returning with just life in him and no more, and he was advised not to make the exertion of landing in his weak condition. He would not be persuaded. He struggled to his feet, and with the aid of his friends got across the gangway, and then fell dead on the soil he loved so well. With this intense love of country, the Oorya is to a greater extent, than most other races in India, most extremely superstitious. This is not unnatural in the country of Jaggernath, but it is carried to an extent for which even the presence of the great shrine could not account. At Jajpur, and indeed throughout all the district, black magic is firmly believed in. There, a race of beings dwell, who emphasize their assumption of devilish power by eating human flesh. People there, from whom one would expect more intelligence, such as pleaders and mukhtears, firmly believe in the power of these wretches. They tried not very long ago to proselytize the nephew of a man who was a little more strong-minded than his neighbours, and took the boy to the graveyard to initiate him into their rites. The uncle followed and tried to get his nephew back, whereupon the High Priest of the craft took a skull and rubbed it all over the man's body. This, to an orthodox Hindu, was not pleasant, but he was not to be beaten. He brought a case against the holy man, but before it came to trial he withdrew it, the reason being that the local bar induced him to withdraw the case sooner than have anything to do with these flesh-eating magicians. Whenever an Oorya passes a road that leads in any way to Juggernath, he at once salutes it by falling on his face to the ground, and, strange to say, Ooryas pay the same outward respect to Mussulman relics and sacred things as to their own. They do not, however, extend their catholicity to Christian Churches and sacred places.

The educated Oorya gentleman is, as a rule, a common-sense clear-headed man. He does not bother himself about Congresses or agitation. He minds his own business, and in his social relations is polite and unobtrusive. I have made many friends amongst the people of Orissa, and I have always found a desire to work for the common good amongst them. There is a perfectly good understanding between the educated

Ooryas and the officials, and this without any *upke waste-ism* on the part of the former. The District Board is as good an instance as I can give, and the work there is carried on smoothly and without friction, yet every important question is fully and freely discussed. The absence of anything like agrarian crime shews that a good understanding prevails between landlord and tenant.

The canals form, of course, a distinctive feature of the Cuttack district. There are four great arteries of this description. The High Level canal which connects Cuttack with the Balasore district. This canal, as I have said, goes through the Durpan and Mahadebpore hills. It reaches the Brahmini river at Jenapore, and is again taken up, after the crossing of that river at Jokadia, whence it takes its course to Bhudruck in the Balasore district. It throws off a branch at Aquapada which connects the head-quarters of the Jajpur Sub-division with the waterways of Orissa. The canal is a monument of engineering skill. The anicut at Aquapada being in itself worth the journey spent in going to it. Then, there is what is called the Kendraparah canal, because most likely it does not go to Kendraparah but connects Cuttack with the sea at Jumbo, the land side of the Hookey Tollah harbour. The Alba extension of this canal which does pass Kendraparah connects Cuttack with Calcutta both by the Chandbally and Alba steamers and by the Balasore Sea Coast canal. Then there are the Taldanda and Patamandi canals—both irrigation works. It would be tedious and out of place in a cameo intended to give the general reader an idea of the district, to enter into the controversy about the payment of canal revenue. Readers who want that sort of information study blue books and not cameos of districts, and I have far too much to do with the question in my hours of work to take it up in leisure hours. It is a question for discussion whether the money sunk in canals might not have been more profitably spent on a district railway connecting the province with the outer world, but the canals have been made and the railway is yet in the far future. There can be no question whatever but that they have done wonders for the district in the matter of rendering barren land fertile, and that the canals have made all parts of the district accessible by water and have thereby opened up the country. One can hardly picture what Cuttack must have been when it depended for communication with the outside world, either on the palki journey to Calcutta through the Balasore and Midnapore districts, or had to chance an occasional steamer calling at False Point. It will scarcely be believed that the canals, as far as irrigation is concerned, are looked upon, or, are professed to be looked on, as a source of oppression to the people,

and those that are cultivating land which but for the construction of the canals would have been jungle, are taught to demand that water should be supplied at a nominal cost, if not, that the cultivator should be paid for honouring the canals by using the water. There are abuses no doubt in the present system, but their remedy is under the consideration of Government, and some means no doubt will be devised to minimize the evil. It is an evil that lies at the root of all administration in this country and can be summed up in the question: How are we to protect natives against their own countrymen when clothed with a little brief authority?

This is amply illustrated by the difficulties in which the district authorities find themselves regarding what ought to be one of the great industries of Cuttack—its fishing. Some years ago when troops were on the move constantly throughout the Province, and means of locomotion were scarce, Government gave, if not in perpetuity, at any rate for a very long time, the right of fishing in the large rivers to a class of men called Kyotes. These men were in their turn to supply boats whenever needed. The necessity for the supply of boats has passed away with the wars that were then waged in Orrisa, but the Kyotes remain, and unfortunately their fishing rights remain also. These men disdain fishing themselves, but, for what reason, it is difficult to say; they will allow no one else to fish either, and a valuable food supply is thus lost to the District. It is to be hoped that some remedy will be found for this state of things in the approaching settlement of the Province. I have now tried to tell people as much about the two districts as I know. As I said at the outset I do not profess to enter into statistics or to do any more than show the district as they appeared to me. Being sent to Orrisa is looked upon as little short of banishment by some, but people in Cuttack contrive to make the exile a very bearable one.

A. C. TUTE.

ART. V.—THE INDIAN MUSEUM AND INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY.

THE study of archæology serves a threefold purpose: firstly, it appeals to the natural curiosity possessed by all men; secondly, it furnishes an incentive to the learned to enquire into the origin and history of all old things; thirdly, it discovers to us the state and progress of archaic art. Thus, all antiquities, being relics of bygone times, are interesting from three standpoints, *viz.*, those of the curious, the savant, and the artist. The human mind is so very curiously constituted that it cannot but feel an impulse of the faculty known as curiosity at the sight of things which do not pertain to times in which mankind at present live, and with which are associated "memories of the past." To the average curious man these old things or antiquities only serve to conjure up memories of times long gone by, without exciting in his mind any sort of inclination whatever to inquire into their origin and history, to speculate into the state of man in those times to which they pertain. To the savants or the learned, however, these objects of archaic origin only appear as being replete with associations of man in past times, and serve to stimulate them to prosecute researches into the origin and history of these objects, to speculate into the social state of the human species in those old, old times. To the artist or the student of ancient art, the study of antiquities discovers the state and progress of architecture, and the plastic arts in general, amongst the men of those olden times. The study of Indian archæology dates from the foundation by Sir William Jones of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784. Previous to the foundation of this famous Society which is, however, the parent of all existing Oriental Societies throughout the world, nobody cared anything at all about the numerous remains of antiquity which are to be met with all over the continent of India. Many learned men there were, no doubt, in the service of the late Honorable East India Company, but they were too much engrossed with their own factory concerns and commercial pursuits, to direct any attention whatever to the study of oriental antiquities. The study of Indian archæology received another but a stronger impetus from the earnestness with which Sanscrit and other oriental languages began to be studied by the European officers in the service of the late John Company. The Europeans of the last century were not at all to be blamed for

this utter apathy on their part in betaking themselves to the study of those languages. There were many obstacles in the way of their betaking to the study of them. The pundits of those days durst not teach Sanscrit to the Europeans because they thought it highly impious to do so. The study of the Vedas even were prohibited to all but the Brahmins, let alone Europeans. So it was with great difficulty that Sir William Jones found a pundit who consented to teach him Sanscrit. These languages had so long been as Hebrew to Europeans, and the literature of these languages were as books sealed with the seven seals of secrecy to them. But the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal also gave impetus to the study of Sanscrit and other oriental languages. The little band of scholars headed by Sir William Jones, Charles Wilkins and Henry Thomas Colebrooke laid the foundation of that study of, and researches into, Indian archæology which has been productive of very valuable results to the study and elucidation of the history of Ancient India. Previous to the invasion of India by the Mahomedans, there is scarcely any history of India worth the naming. Indeed, there are one or two works which may rank with modern histories, in point of their faithful delineation of past times, narration of past events, and accurate enumeration of successive dynasties of rulers in their chronological sequence. But the accounts contained in these "abstracts and brief chronicles of the times" are to be received with a great deal of caution. The works alluded to above are *Raj Tarangini* of Kashmir and *Mahāvansa* of Ceylon. But even the existence of these two books came to the notice of orientalists a long time after the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The history of India, previous to the Mahomedan period, consists of a number of traditions, legends and myths which are scarcely to be accepted and believed as historical facts. The art of writing history, in the modern sense of the term, was unknown to the ancient Indians. History and fiction appeared to them to be synonymous with each other. Hence the enormous quantity of fables and myths found jumbled together with historical facts in works professedly dealing with the narration of historical matters. There are the *Shastras*, the *Purans* and the great epics—the *Māhabhārat* and the *Rāmāyana*—all professedly dealing with historical facts, but the few scraps of history that they contain are overlaid by such an amount of fiction, that it is very difficult, at this distance of time, to separate the strictly historical matter from the fictitious. Historical personages have been described in such exaggerated language, that the modern cultured reader cannot but disbelieve in their existence, while, on the other hand, facts which had no existence in the history of Ancient India, have been described and invested

with such a semblance of truth, as to warrant us in believing them to be "truth severe by fairy fiction drest." Dynasties of fabulous kings have been described and their pedigree has been traced to the gods, to the sun and the moon, while the periods during which they have been described as having reigned are of such incalculably long duration, that Hindu chronology, like Hindu history, becomes positively incredible. The length of the ages into which time has been divided by Hindu chronologers casts into the shade the duration of such geological periods as the Miocene, Pliocene, Eocene ages, &c., calculated by modern geologists, and the length of such astronomical distances as those of the nebulae. But it is to be borne in mind that the history of Ancient India has already been written. But the curious reader may very pertinently ask: "What are the materials out of which this history has been constructed?" The reply to this question is, that the study of, and researches into, Indian archæology have afforded ample materials for the drawing up of an actual history of Ancient India. The researches of learned antiquarians like Jones, Colebrooke, Prinsep, Thomas, Cunningham, Vincent Smith, Mitra, and a host of others have laid the foundations of a true history of Ancient India. There are numerous lithic remains of antiquity scattered all over the country, from the study of which many interesting historical facts have been gleaned. There are numerous inscriptions carved on rocks and on buildings, the deciphering of which has led to the discovery of the names of many dynasties of kings who would otherwise have remained unknown to us moderns. Hoards of coins have been discovered all over the country, the deciphering of the legends on which has thrown considerable light on the state of things in Ancient India. It is by a study of Indian antiquities that the fact of the influence of Hellenic culture on the religion, poetry, science, philosophy and the arts of the ancient Indians has been discovered. Greek ideas, working on Indian soil, exercised a marked influence on, and modified the arts of the ancient Indians, and this fact is no where more patent than in the lithic evidence of antique sculptures that have from time to time been unearthed all over India. It is by a study of the Arabic and the Persian inscriptions found all over Northern India, and especially in Bengal, that Professor Blochmann was able to construct a trustworthy history of the latter province under the Mahomedan *regime*. Thus it will be seen that the construction of a history of Ancient India has been rendered possible by the existence of the sculptured evidence of ancient monuments and inscriptions, and by the numismatic testimony of ancient coins found in coin-troves- unearthed in various parts of India. The late

lamented H. J. Colebrooke very truly observed : " In the scarcity of authentic materials for the ancient, and even for the modern history of the Hindu race, importance is justly attached to all genuine monuments, and especially inscriptions on stone and metal, which are occasionally discovered through various accidents. If these be carefully preserved and diligently examined, and the facts ascertained from them be judiciously employed towards elucidating the scattered information which can yet be collected from remains of Indian literature, a satisfactory progress may be finally made in investigating the history of the Hindus." The discoveries of Assyrian sculptures in the mounds of Ninevah and Babylon by M. Botta and Mr. Layard have laid the foundation of the science of Assyriology or the science of Assyrian antiquities. The researches of Dr. Oppert, Sayce, Birch and others have led to the discovery of the key to the cuneiform, or the arrow-shaped inscriptions found carved on Assyrian sculptures and on the wondrous remains of Persepolis. From the successful deciphering of these inscriptions many important facts regarding the past history of Assyria—one of the greatest monarchies of the ancient world—have been elicited. Thus the construction of a history of Assyria, in the absence of written chronicles, has been rendered possible by the study of Assyrian antiquities. Collections of bricks, cylinders, tablets, coins, inscriptions, sculptures and other Assyrian antiquities have been formed in the great museums of Paris and London, *viz.*, the Louvre and the British Museum. These collections afford ample materials for study to the students of Assyriology. The discovery of the Rosetta Stone at the place of that name in Upper Egypt by a French archæologist, and the deciphering of the bilingual inscription carved thereon by Dr. Young, furnished a key to the hieroglyphic characters of the ancient Egyptians. These hieroglyphics, or sacred writings had for a long time puzzled the European archæologists, and had baffled all their attempts at deciphering them. When the key to these mysterious picture-writings, which were found inscribed on the ancient monuments of Egypt was discovered in the Rosetta Stone, and by means of which these sacred picture-writings were deciphered, a flood of light was thrown on the ancient history of Egypt. This at once led to the foundation of a distinct branch of archæological study, namely, Egyptology, or the science of Egyptian antiquities. Thus the construction of a history of ancient Egypt has been rendered possible by the study of Egyptian antiquities. Collections of papyri, coins, inscriptions, sculptures and other Egyptian antiquities exist in the Louvre at Paris, in the British Museum at London, and in the Royal Museum at Berlin. From the study of the antiquities

in these national collections, English and continental savants have been able to contribute much towards the elucidation of many dark problems in the history of ancient Egypt. The Museum at Boulaq, near Cairo, is particularly rich in these Egyptian "memories of the past" and is the great centre of Egyptological researches. A French archæological school has been founded there, on the model of the French archæological school at Athens, for furthering the cause of Egyptological researches. Under the leadership of such accomplished French Egyptologists as M. M. Maspero and Bouriant, the French have already done much in throwing light on the past history of the ancient Egyptians, which was formerly completely enveloped in the mists and haze of antiquity. Both Assyriological and Egyptological researches have thrown considerable light on the solution of many dark problems in scriptural history. Many of the events narrated in the Bible have been, strangely enough, confirmed by the evidence derived from the decipherment of the cuneiform and hieroglyphic inscriptions; and thus the foundation of a distinct branch of archæological study, namely, Biblical archæology has been laid. Besides the elucidation of historical questions, the study of archæology is interesting to the student of archaic art. The study of antique sculptures has thrown a flood of light on the state and progress of art in ancient times. It is by a study of these sculptures that it has come to be discovered that the ancient Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Hindus, the Greeks and the Romans had made considerable progress in, and had carried to great perfection, the art of carving. The delicacy of finish and the elaboration of details in many of the antique sculptures shew to what a pitch of perfection the ancients had carried the art of sculpture. It is by a study of archæology that it has been discovered that the great nations of antiquity had attained to a considerable knowledge of the builder's art or architecture. The Parthenon at Athens, the Pantheon at Rome, the Pyramids of Egypt, the great palaces of Ninevah, the cave-temples and other religious structures of India, excite the admiration and the wonder of the whole world; while the temples of Luxor and Thebes, and the stupas or topes of India abundantly prove the perfect knowledge of the principles of architecture to which the ancient Egyptians and the ancient Indians had attained. It is by a study of archæology that it has come to be discovered that the ancient Egyptians and the ancient Indians had considerable skill in engineering science. Modern engineers cannot explain how the huge monoliths of Egypt, and the stupendous stones of which the temple of Juggernaut is constructed, could have been transported from the places where they were quarried to the places of building, by these

ancient nations with their deficient engineering appliances. The ancient Indians were also adepts in painting, specimens of which still exist in the cave-temples of Western India and of Ajanta, and also at Bagh in Malwa. But the delineations of human form in these paintings display the utter ignorance of the ancient Indians of the elementary principles of anatomy of the human frame. From the above it will be abundantly evident that the study of archæology is fraught with interest in more ways than one. It will also be abundantly evident that national archæological collections are of great importance for the purpose of the study of the history and the art of ancient times as depicted on ancient monuments. Thus it will be seen that as a preliminary condition of the successful study of Indian archæology, a collection of objects, illustrative of archæology in all its branches, is necessary. The nucleus of such a study-collection already exists in Calcutta in the Archæological Department of the Indian Museum. Now, the object of this essay is to show what deficiencies exist in these collections, and what objects should be acquired and exhibited in order to render the Archæological Department of this Museum a completely representative study-collection worthy of the metropolis of British India. The Archæological Department of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, includes specimens illustrative only of the following branches of Indian archæology, namely, general archæology, pre-historic archæology and epigraphy, while the other and most important branch of archæology, namely, numismatics is totally unrepresented. This utter absence of numismatic objects from the exhibition galleries of the Archæological Department of the Museum detracts from the merits of the Indian Museum of Calcutta as the finest and the richest museum in the whole of Asia. It enjoys an European reputation. But it is a pity that the trustees of our National Museum should have overlooked such an important point as the addition and exhibition of a thoroughly representative numismatic collection from all parts of India. This institution was established in 1866, under Act XVII of that year, for the purpose of being devoted, to quote the words of the Act, "to collections illustrative of Indian archæology and of the several branches of natural history, and in part to the preservation and exhibition of other objects of interest, whether historical or physical, &c." From the above-quoted extract, it will be perceived that the Government of India intended the Archæological Department of the Museum to be thoroughly illustrative of all the branches of Indian archæology, including numismatics. How far all these branches have been illustrated in the Museum can be best inferred from the entire neglect of the claim which numismatics, which is by far the most

important branch of Indian archæology, has for illustration in it. That numismatics is an important branch of archæology goes without saying. But this important branch is not at all represented. Indeed, the visitor to the museum, in walking through the four great galleries, to wit, the Asoka, the Indo-Scythian, the Gupta and the Mahomedan and inscription galleries into which the archæological collections in the museum have been divided, will be agreeably surprised to find the gateway of the famous *stupa* of Bharat, discovered by General Cunningham, and which is inscribed with scenes illustrative of the Buddhist *Jatakas* or birth stories, the friezes of the rock-cut temples of Orissa discovered by Dr. Mitra in his *magnum opus* the "Antiquities of Orissa," the capitals of the pillars from Mathura, the antique statues from Patna or Palibothra of the ancients, the Yusufzai sculptures from the Punjab, the Buddha Gaya sculptures described by Dr. R. Mitra in his truly magnificent work on "Buddha Gaya or the Hermitage of Sakya Muni," architectural remains from Gaur, the ancient capital of Bengal under the Pál and the Sen kings, and numerous other sculptures of great beauty and interest. But the visitor is doomed to disappointment if he expects to find coins exhibited here. Coins are closely related to books. The only difference being that the former are made of metal, while the latter are written upon paper. But, nevertheless, coins are as interesting as written histories. The inscriptions on the coins are as valuable for fixing the dates of events, for throwing light on the little-known periods in the history of a country, as are the chronicles handed down to posterity by historians. In fact, they are far more authentic than written chronicles, because the records inscribed on them remain unaltered by the lapse of ages, while written histories may be altered by their writers to suit their own class-prejudice or party-bias. In short, coins may be designated as fragments of history written on metal. It is by a study of these that the names of princes unknown to history have been brought to light. It is from the finds of Roman coins in Southern India that historians have come to the conclusion, that there must have existed commercial intercourse between Ancient India and Ancient Rome in the days of yore. The study of coins also discovers to us the state of the art of coinage among the ancient Indians. The coins of early Indian mintages display very slight pretensions to artistic merit, being mere blanks of metal inscribed with legends in rude and cramped characters, and often bearing a rude caricature of the human face divine and other symbols. From this it would appear that the ancient Indian die-cutters never attained to any great degree of perfection in the art of coining. They always failed to produce a true likeness of the

human form. From these facts it will be evident what importance is to be attached to these interesting relics of by-gone days. The researches of eminent numismatists like Wilson, Prinsep, Mackenzie, Cunningham, Vincent Smith, Mitra, &c., are too well-known to be repeated here. It is true the Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses one of the finest cabinets of coins in existence, but it is to be remembered that it is not accessible to the public at large. Even some of the provincial museums of India possess good collections of coins which are exhibited to the public. The Government Central Museum at Madras possesses a fairly representative collection of coins from all parts of India. This collection is especially rich in gold coins of the Roman Cæsars, silver coins of the Mamelukes of Egypt, and the coins of the Bactrian kings. Large additions are being constantly made to the collection. Last year this collection received large additions "including a gold coin of Taju-d-din Yildiz; coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India, Lysias, Rajnabala, Spalirises and Azes, Abdagases, Orthagnes, Zeonises, Kadphises I, and Kadaphes; several new types of Mysore coins, and a collection of copper coins found at Kilakarai on the Madura coast." Even the small provincial museum at Lucknow has a good collection of coins, "which received a large number of additions last year, *viz.*, 24 gold, including Gupta and Deva coins; 148 silver, including pieces of the earliest Hindu period and of the Indo-Bactrian and Indo-Sassanian period and the rest of Mahomedan mintages; and 879 copper coins comprising 257 Buddhist and 41 of the Mitra dynasty, 378 of the Indo-Bactrian kings, and the rest miscellaneous coins. From the foregoing facts it would appear that the interests of numismatics, that important branch of Indian archæology, are not neglected even in the provincial museums. while it is to be regretted that our National Museum, endowed as it is with the richest collection of specimens available in India, is without any coin-collection among its archæological treasures. The Treasure Trove Act (being Act VI of 1878) was no doubt passed for the purpose of providing for the examination of coins found in coin-troves discovered all over India by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and for their ultimate distribution to the principal museums of India. No doubt under the provisions of the above-mentioned Act many coins have been presented to the Indian Museum. The Archæological Survey of India has, from time to time, presented coins to the museum. "506 specimens of coins belonging to 20 different classes, comprising among them several coins of great interest" were presented to it by the Survey last year. From these it would appear that the nucleus of a numismatic collection

already exists in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, but it is more than we can tell, why this collection is not exhibited to the public at large. It is high time that a coin-room similar to the one existing in the British Museum at London should be opened in this museum for the purpose of exhibiting the coin-collections possessed by it. Several valuable collections of coins have been in the market lately, as for instance, the Gibbs collection, which was allowed to leave this country because no purchaser could be found for it. The trustees of the Indian Museum could very well have removed the reproach from the metropolis by buying it for the museum under their charge. It behoves the Government of India as well as the trustees of the Indian Museum to secure a good collection for our National Museum which will complete its Archæological Department, and at the same time add to its attraction and interest.

The next branch of archæology which the visitor will find represented in its galleries is Pre-historic Archæology. The visitor who takes any interest in such things will find that, in the middle of the great Gupta Gallery, there are some cases filled with fragments of pottery, bones, flint weapons and other relics of the pre-historic ages. The fragments of pottery, bones and stone implements are from the cairns and cromlechs of Southern India and Beluchistan, while the flint celts, arrow-heads and other weapons are from some pre-historic caves in France. From the inspection of these it would appear that already a fairly representative collection of this branch of Indian archæology exists in the Indian Museum, which would afford ample materials for study to the student of pre-historic archæology. Recently, however, a collection of interesting Neolithic worked stones from Southern India has been presented to this Museum by Mr. R. B. Foote; and another interesting collection of the remains of the same age, which was unearthed by Mr. W. H. P. Driver of Ranchi, has also been presented to it. The study of this mass of pre-historic relics now in the Indian Museum has thrown a flood of light on the history of India during the pre-historic ages. The results of researches into this small collection of pre-historic materials have been embodied in a paper read last year before the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Mr. J. Wood-Mason the well-known Superintendent of the Indian Museum.

We next come to the third branch of Indian archæology, namely, Epigraphy or Inscriptions. This branch is also tolerably well represented in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. The visitor will be agreeably surprised to find a gallery in the Museum, specially devoted to the exhibition of inscriptions from all parts of India, among which he will find two slabs of stone inscribed with the famous edicts of Asoke, prohibiting

the slaughter of animals throughout his dominions. He will also find many slabs of marble inscribed with Persian and Arabic inscriptions and several inscriptions in the Kawi character of Singapore. This portion of the archæological collection cannot very easily be increased, because most of the inscriptions, that have been and are still being discovered, are carved on rocks and on buildings and on stones not easily removable. Hence they cannot be removed at all, and have to be left *in situ*. Those that are carved on sculptures and on small slabs of stone or marble are easily removable, and hence the majority of inscriptions in this Museum are found carved on statues, bas-reliefs, medallions and pillars. Notwithstanding this difficulty, many inscriptions were added to the Lucknow Museum last year; and a very interesting inscription of the time of the Mahárájáh Toramána Sháh, which was discovered by Mr. O'Dwyer in the Salt Range, was sent to the Lahore Central Museum. All these inscriptions should have been sent to the imperial collection at Calcutta, and only plaster-casts of them should have been retained in those provincial museums. It is high time that both the Board of Trustees of the Indian Museum and the Government of India should issue orders for the transmission of all inscriptions discovered throughout India to the Indian Museum at Calcutta, so that the nucleus of the collection of epigraphic specimens possessed by it may be increased. These inscriptions have been of great use in elucidating many of the dark problems in Indian history. In the absence of written histories, these inscriptions have been the means whereby many breaks in the history of this country have been filled up. Lastly, it is by the decipherment of these inscriptions that many of the brilliant discoveries in the history of India and of the surrounding countries have been made. Some of the most brilliant discoveries in Indian philology also have been made by the study of these inscriptions. It was through the researches of that famous antiquarian Mr. James Prinsep, that the discoveries of the Arian and the Indian Pali alphabets were made. The Indian Pali alphabet, in its several stages of development, namely, the Kutila, the Gupta and the Asoka characters, is the parent of the modern Devanagri alphabet. Indeed, upon these two discoveries is based all our knowledge of the art of archaic writing, the language, and the history of India.

Next we come to antiquities in general. The visitor's attention is especially directed to the series of Hindu sculptures from Java which prove, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the Hindus had at one time visited even the inmost parts of Java. The ruins at Boro Bodor and other places in Java attest that the Brahminical religion of India was at one time

prevalent in that island also. The collection of general antiquities in the Indian Museum may be considerably increased if all the specimens which are unearthed in all parts of India are transferred to it. But some of these specimens are carried off from India for sale in Europe or for presentation to European museums. The rest are all sent to the provincial museums of India to be stored there in obscure nooks and corners. Thus they are practically lost to the student of Indian archæology. But some remedy for the former evil has been already devised. All students of Indian archæology will be glad to learn that the attention of the Government of India has at last been drawn to the shameful way in which objects of antiquarian interest have been taken away from this country. They should all be grateful to Colonel Keith, the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India, for having been instrumental in drawing the Government's attention to this scandalous practice. It is a well known fact that discoveries of treasure-troves, coins, Buddhist, Jain and other antique sculptures, copper-plate grants, inscriptions on stones, and pre-historic weapons are being frequently made all over India. The majority of these objects find their way into the hands of private collectors who either dispose of, or present them to European cabinets of antiquities, or if they happen to be coins and fall into the hands of natives, they are invariably sent to the melting pot to be made up into ornaments. But few of them, at times, find their resting place in some museum in India. The Archæological Survey of India was organized, I believe, for the purpose of preserving the ancient monuments of India, for the purpose of exploring the ruins of ancient towns, and for collecting all objects of antiquarian interest that might be discovered in the course of making excavations, and for depositing them in some museum in India. It would appear that the objects discovered by the Archæological Survey of India in the course of its operations are not always deposited in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, for to this effect is the complaint made by Dr. J. Anderson, late Superintendent of that Museum. In complaining that many of the important objects, including the copper-plate discovered by Mr. Carlleyle at Indore Khera, in the Goruckpore district, have not been deposited by him in the said Museum, Dr. Anderson says: "It would have been as well had Mr. Carlleyle stated in Vol. XII, where the copper-plate and other discoveries have been deposited, so that they might have become accessible to students of archæology, and this remark is applicable to a very large proportion of the objects described in the reports of the Archæological Survey. It would be an advantage to archæology were the Survey to publish a list of the objects

incidentally mentioned, described and figured in the fifteen volumes of reports, stating whether the specimens, sculptures, coins, &c., mentioned in the reports, and in some instances figured, were left *in situ*, or if removed where they were deposited" (Anderson's Handbook to the Archæological Collections in the Indian Museum, Vol. II, p. 123, foot note.) To this effect also are the observations made in 1887 by E. T. Atkinson, Esq., C. S. in his presidential address delivered before the Asiatic Society of Bengal: "It is understood that all coins, sculptures, and other antiquarian objects collected by the staff (of the Archæological Survey) shall be strictly considered as State property, and shall belong to the principal museum of the circle, but arrangements may be made for certain exceptions (including duplicates) in favour of the Indian Imperial Museum and also for exchanges and casts. I can only hope that these arrangements may have a liberal tendency in so far as they affect the Indian Museum at Calcutta." Again, in speaking of the antiquities discovered by Mr. Harris in excavating the ruins of Sultangunge in the Bhagulpore district, Dr. Anderson complains that a large copper-statue of Buddha discovered there, had been carried off from India and presented to the Aston Park Museum where it remained for several years, but was removed in 1886 to the Central Free Library, Birmingham, where it still remains. It is to be regretted that objects of antiquarian interest discovered in India should be rendered inaccessible to Indian students of archæology by being thus taken out of the country. The Government of India should promulgate orders calling upon the several provincial Governments and Administrations to direct the attention of the district officers under them, to the necessity of taking some sort of precaution whereby such objects, wherever discovered in India, may be secured for some museum in India and, in the case of rare specimens, for the Indian Museum at Calcutta. As all coins discovered in Northern India are, under the provisions of the Act VI of 1888 (Treasure Trove Act) forwarded to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for examination and distribution to the principal museums of India, so some such law should be enacted providing for the transmission of all sculptures and other antiquarian objects discovered in India to the above-mentioned Society for examination, and, should they prove of great historical interest, for deposit in the Indian Imperial Museum at Calcutta. It is, I believe, the practice in England to deposit all important zoological and other scientific collections acquired by the English nation in the new Natural History Museum at South Kensington, all important archæological collections in the British Museum in Great Bloomsbury Square, and all important art collections in the South Kensington

Museum. As the nucleus of an Imperial archæological collection has been formed in the Archæological Department of the Indian Museum at Calcutta, all important archæological objects discovered throughout India should be deposited in the said collection. In this connection it will not be out of place to draw the Government of India's attention to another fact. At present the Lahore Museum contains a very important collection of antiquities discovered by the late Dr. Bellew in the Punjab, while the important Buddhist and Jain sculptures lately unearthed at Mathura, have been deposited in the provincial museum at Lucknow. All these collections are of great value to the student of Indian archæology, and it is a pity that they should have been deposited in these insignificant provincial museums only to satisfy the curiosity of sight-seers, instead of being sent to the imperial collection at Calcutta where they might have formed an interesting subject of study to some student of archæology. It behoves the Government of India to remove all these original sculptures, if practicable, and plaster-cast models of all those, the originals of which cannot be easily removed, now stored away in the museums at Lahore, Lucknow, Madras, Bombay, Agra, Delhi and Nagpore, and to the National Indian Museum at Calcutta, in order to complete its Archæological Department, and also to make them easily accessible for study purposes.

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ART. VI.—THE FRONTIERS OF INDIA.

THIS is a wide word. Attention of late years has been so exclusively concentrated on the North-West frontier that it is a relief to turn away from the part and take a comprehensive glance at the whole. India has a maritime and an inland frontier. The former extends from Gwadar *viâ* Karachi and Bombay to Point de Galle, thence northward to the Sunderbunds, and again turning south to Tenasserim. The latter may be said to start at Gwadar, and taking in the territories of Eastern Beluchistan and Pishin, to follow more or less the line of the Afghan frontier to the Khyber Pass. Although the territories of Chitral, Kashmere, and Leh are actually protected Native States, our line of frontier must now be considered to pass outside them. From Leh to Dibrugarh the Himalayas are the frontier of India. From Dibrugarh to Bhamo the frontier is undefined. Ultimately, no doubt, the country round the upper waters of the Irrawaddy and the Salween will be explored and annexed by us. It will then be possible to define our boundaries and those of China accurately. The Salween is our present Eastern frontier from Moulmein as far north as the Kunlon ferry on the Salween, subject, of course, to the decisions of the Anglo-Siamese Commission. From Kunlon to Bhamo the frontier between British territory and China has not been defined. Siam bounds Tenasserim on the east.

This is a rough definition of the frontiers of India. As each position is considered separately, it will be treated of more in detail, and the modifications to which it is, has been, or will be liable, pointed out. If we estimate the maritime and inland frontiers of India each at 5,000 miles, we shall not be far from the mark. When we say that we have 5,000 miles of maritime and 5,000 miles of inland frontier, we mean primarily that we have this extent to defend. There are other ways of looking at frontiers. Russia, for example, is bent on getting a maritime frontier on the Mediterranean, and may be, too, on the Persian Gulf. Russia is dissatisfied with her frontiers because she has no southern outlet. The whole aim of her policy is to get one. She does not look on a frontier as a thing to be defended, but as a thing to be gained. When gained, time enough then to think of defending it. We, on the other hand, have mostly acquired the frontiers we want, and our attention is mainly turned to their defence. Not that we do not aim at further annexation as opportunity offers, but such extension will

probably be a mere trifle compared with the original vast territory. We will point out later on when such extensions are feasible and likely.

Our maritime frontier further includes certain more or less isolated obligations, such as the whole Persian Gulf Littoral, and the navigable course of the Shat-al-Arab and Tigris up to Baghdad. We can allow no interference in those parts. If Baghdad or the Persian Gulf fell into the hands of a hostile power, India would find its most important line of communication with England cut. Whatever happens, Turkish Arabia and Southern Persia cannot be allowed to fall into the hands of Russia.* Many are the projects on foot for establishing a line of rail connecting the Indian with the European railway system. Alexandretta and Smyrna seem to be the termini on the European side most favoured. It is quite possible that Russia may absorb the whole of Asia Minor, though it is the duty of England, upholding Turkey, to prevent this by all means ; but Syria and Mesopotamia and Southern Persia and all Mekran and Beluchistan must be British or else—*pereat* India. England and India must fight for this, if necessary, and if beaten in the fight, then adieu British sovereignty in Asia. Thus, in addition to the long line of seaboard from Tenasserim to Gwadar, India, with such aid as England can spare it, has to maintain its supremacy (with or without allies) in the Persian Gulf and on the Tigris.

The Indian Press has rendered us more or less familiar with His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's visits to Karachi, Bombay and Calcutta, and his inspections of these fortifications, and the Chiefs of Bombay and Madras, pay similar attentions to Aden (including the Somali coast, an addition of some hundreds of miles to the defensible seaboard) Madras and Rangoon. We must sincerely hope that the fortifications of these six all-important commercial towns and coaling stations are, indeed, in a satisfactory condition. But we must not forget that there are scores of ports, large and small, between these, that have few or no defences. Let us just mention the Kathiawar ports, Surat, Bassein, Ratnagiri, Calicut, Cannanore, Mangalore, Cochin, Colombo, Point de Galle, Trincomalee, Masulipatam, Vizagapatam, Chittagong, Akyab, Moulmein, Tavoy, and Tenasserim. Trincomalee is only a possible harbour, but if not fortified or held by our own fleets, it will probably become a basis of operations for a hostile fleet.

It is, of course, out of the question, considering the small British and Native force that garrisons India, and in the hour

* With regard to British obligations in Khorasan and Seistan and the Perso-Afghan frontier, the reader should consult Hon'ble G. Curzon's Letters from Persia to the *Times*.

of need must furnish both the army of frontier defence and the garrison, that much should be done for coast defence by the regular troops. For this we ought to look to the Volunteers and the Volunteer Reserve. How far the latter has succeeded, and what steps the Government has taken to promote it, is at present unknown. Captains Duff and Mason in the *Journal of the United Service Institution of India* had two very good essays on the subject, which was also advocated by a writer in the July number of the *Calcutta Review*. The policy of Government does not allow Natives to possess fire-arms, except in *States* under Native rule, or by special license. Consequently, the security of the many ports on the Indian sea-board must depend, in the main, on the local European and Eurasian population. These ports (excepting the six principal ports abovementioned) may or may not be more or less partially fortified; anyhow we may assume that, in most cases, both the fortifications and the guns, if there are any, are obsolete. In these days we must not look to the Home Government to provide guns. Why, the supply is not sufficient for the defence of the six principal Indian ports mentioned above, and of Colombo and Singapore, much less for the minor intermediate ports. And even if there were enough guns, there is not enough money. The Indian Government spends every pice of its revenue, and has to tax its officials and officers, because it dare not increase the taxation on the Native classes. What is the use of having a conquered country if it cannot be taxed? However, Indian for the Indians is now the cry, and Anglo-Indian Congresses and Bradlaughs will not let that cry drop. With the present Governmental policy and the present position of affairs, increase of taxation on Natives is not likely. This condition of things will last until Russia gets India; and then probably the banya will be bled to his heart's content.

We need not speak of the North-West frontier defences. For the last four or five years that hobby-horse has been ridden to death. We have had enough of the Baleli or Quetta defences. Certainly we must carry out our policy of opening up the Gomal and Kundar route to Kandahar, (railways included) and the Tochi-Dawar route to Ghazni, and we must bring under our own suzerainty all the tribes that do not acknowledge the Amir's suzerainty. Doubtless the Amir will not like this, but it is useless our being squeamish about what the Amir likes or dislikes. He may play us false at any moment, and it is no use our molly-coddling him too much. It is not likely that our policy in Kashmir and Chitral, in Yaghistan and all along the North-West frontier, and in the Beluch desert, finds favour with the Amir, and there are

certainly symptoms that the ties that bind him to us are a good deal strained and may snap. The report circulated last December of the approach of Russian troops within 20 miles of Herat may have some foundation. As a matter of fact we are at this moment watching two North-West frontiers, one that extends from Zulfikar to Wakhan, and the other which extends from Quetta to Peshawar. The former is watched at one end by General Maclean, and at the other by Major Durand. The hold of the Amir on Shignan and Roshan is not of the strongest, and we need not be surprised to hear that they have lapsed into Bokharan, *i. e.* Russian hands. Although the Government has taken so much pains of late years, by the employment first of Colonel Lockhart and subsequently of Major Durand and Captain Younghusband to ascertain if India is vulnerable from the side of Chitral and Yasin, we must not suppose that India is really assailable from that quarter. The line of the Hindu Kush from the Sir Ulang Pass (opposite Charikar) to Hunza and Baltistan may be held to be impracticable for an invading force. The point about which there seems to be doubt, is this : whether a force detached from Kabul could work its way through Kafirstan to the valleys of the Kunar and Dir rivers, and thence work their way down to Jalalabad or in rear of Peshawar, and so assail the flank of the defending force. This must be attended to.

From Baltistan, all along the northern frontier of India to beyond Dibrugarh, and thence southward to the frontier of Siam, our relations are with China. On our North-West frontier we have a possible, nay probable, assailant. From China, at least at present, we have no reason to fear hostility. Kashgar and Yarkand are now Chinese. The day may come when Russia will possess Kashgaria, and when Kashmir, Tibet and Baltistan will be buffer States. There is no doubt that our policy in Burma and towards Tibet has, since 1885, produced a good deal of heart-burning at Peking. Mr. Macaulay's mission to Lhasa would undoubtedly have met with much opposition had it not been abandoned. Our proceedings in Sikkim have roused much rancour, but there seems hope now of that being allayed. As for our doings all along the Burman and Shan frontier, it is impossible that the Chinese can have watched and are watching them otherwise than with apprehension and therefore annoyance. Bhamo lies so close to the Chinese frontier, that our military and political authorities engaged in conducting expeditions from Bhamo eastward, have had some difficulty in discriminating between Chinese and Burmese subjects. From Bhamo southward the western edge of the Shan plateau and the Shweli river are roughly the limits of Chinese territory. Northward,

from Bhamo to the N. E. extremity of Assam, there is no frontier. In fact this is at this moment a *terra incognita*, inhabited by Singphos, Kachyens, and other cognate tribes. It must eventually be annexed to Burma and Assam, and then a frontier with China will be demarcated. Southward from the Kunlon ferry the Salween at present forms the frontier, but only for the present. This winter a mission under Mr. Ney Elias has gone to the Trans Salween chiefs, and we may accept it as a foregone conclusion that all the Trans-Salween Shan States, bounded on the North by China, on the East by Tonquin, and on the South by Siam, will become subject to Great Britain. Our relations with China are at present friendly and should remain so. Siam will be little else than a feudatory State under our influence. From the French we can look for no friendliness. The failure of their Egyptian policy in 1882 and Burmese policy in 1885, and the little profit or satisfaction that the nation has received from Tonquin, Annam or Cambodia (despite the Exhibition of 1889) has deeply embittered the French against us. Not that we have anything to apprehend from the French in Tonquin and Annam. On the contrary, their position there, with China and England all round them, is a most critical one. If they were wise they would vacate rather than spend another man and sou on the country. We have only to read French publications about these colonies, to learn how unsatisfactory their condition is, and how little interested the French public, or indeed, the present French Government is in them. In fact it is only *amour-propre* that prevents them clearing out. They are certainly not remunerative colonies. The expectation of opening up trade with China by the Red River has not been fulfilled.

Such is a brief review of the character and condition of our frontiers. We must, of course, remember that an alliance between France and Russia is highly probable, and, if so, that we shall have one of them upon us from the N.-W. and the other from the S. E. We must also remember that if we are to look to the regular troops to defend our inland frontiers, and operate outside them, we must look to volunteer troops, aided by our naval forces, to defend our sea-board. We shall have a few regular troops quartered at each of the principal ports, but not nearly enough for their defence. At each of those ports a large number of heavy garrison guns will be mounted. The garrison artillery are insufficient to man these. They must be worked with the assistance of the regular troops in garrison, and more particularly by the local Volunteers. The superior education and intelligence of the latter specially qualifies them for garrison artillery work. The Commander-in-Chief in India in December last spoke out very plainly to the Garrison Artillery

in India and said, there was much room for improvement (he said the same to the Horse and Field Artillery, but that is outside our subject). Our maritime ports cannot look for protection to the navy, whose vessels are few in number, of second and third rate armament, and have to look after a seaboard of vast extent,—from Tenasserim all round India to Basra, as well as Aden and the East African Coast. Enough has been said in the public press to let the 60,000 or 70,000 civilian European and Eurasian population know, that their military services are essential to the safety of the Empire; but we do not hear of any systematic effort at organization being made by the Government. What has been proposed, *viz.*, the military enrolment of all classes of the dominant race in India capable of bearing arms, sounds like conscription. "Conscription" is a word that, to the orthodox Briton, conveys very much the same feeling as a mention of "The Reign of Terror." Here in India the authorities have christened it "Volunteer Reserve." But we want to see something more than a name. We want to know the corps composing this Reserve, and want to see them made of something stouter than mere paper. We want to hear of them parading for instruction, and for inspection by Generals of Division or other persons appointed to review them. We want to see the civilians of high rank in the Empire taking that lead in furthering this movement that they ought to. Mr. (we should say—Colonel) Justice Bayley in Bombay sets the other civilians an example. We cannot expect the tag-rag and bob-tail to initiate here. We look to Lieutenant-Governors, Secretaries, Judges, and Commissioners to take the first steps, under the auspices of the Supreme Government, to add a most important factor to the military strength of the Empire.

A. C. Y.

[INDEPENDENT SECTION.]

ART. VII.—THE RUPEE AND FOREIGN TRADE.

IT is agreed by those who have studied the question that the depreciation of silver began soon after the completion of the Franco-German War, when the Latin Union of the continental nations, for the equal exchange of silver with gold, at the rate of 60*d.* per oz. was abrogated. Soon after this event, Germany adopted a gold coinage, and, by throwing 10 millions sterling of surplus silver coin into the market for sale, she gave it a sudden downfall, which has, with more or less persistent effect, continued up till now. So far as one can judge, the fall in the value of silver may go on year by year, and it will go on, under present conditions, until that point has been reached, when the respective market values of silver and gold will represent the labour power necessary for their production out of the bowels of the earth. This is necessarily a fluctuating value, for in no two years of the world's history, can the proportion in the world's production of the two precious metals remain equal and stable. So long as the rupee is treated as bullion, so long as it continues to be exchangeable by law at the demand of the banker and merchant, with an equivalent weight of silver bars, to any amount, at the mints of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, so long will the exchange value of the rupee continue to be the sport of circumstances beyond the control of the Indian Government, and upset the calculations of the most careful Finance Minister.

People in England might continue to feel but a languid interest in this difficult problem, were it not that it has been recently established that the cycles of prosperity of trade, which had formerly recurred every ten years, have now given way to a permanent depression, which has lasted for sixteen years past, of which no one can see the end, and that this depression is synchronous with the depreciation of the value of silver. The two phenomena have been observed to agree so closely in point of time and effect, as to warrant the belief that one has been caused by and is the natural outcome of the other.

The question now is how best can India seek a solution and a remedy for this state of things. England is wedded to her system of gold coinage, which she will be loth to change, except for overwhelming reasons of State policy.

The export trade from India to Europe probably amounts, at the present time, to 83 millions sterling. The greater

portion of this trade is attracted to England, and is paid for principally by English goods shipped in return to India. The currency of India is silver. India has been the absorbent of the surplus silver production of the world for the past three centuries. The sudden fall in the value of silver is affecting the finances of the Government of India to an unlooked for extent, and, if any remedy for the existing state of things can be discovered, it is right that it should be first applied to India.

The only practicable remedy is to stop the coinage of rupees on private account, and to coin an equivalent amount on Government account only, with silver purchased by the Indian Government for the purpose, either in London or at the Indian Presidency mints. This precaution has, from the time silver fell in value, been adopted in Holland and her colonies, and is now the coinage system of the United States as established by the "Bland" Act.

The course of the Indian Exchange of Trade is as follows :—Formerly Indian produce was paid for in English goods, and in the precious metals, gold and silver. Silver bullion was then, by virtue of the Latin Bi-metallic Union, exchangeable on demand by law for an equivalent weight of silver coin, less the small charge for coining. It was also exchangeable at a certain fixed price for its equivalent value of gold coin. In the same way gold bullion was exchangeable on demand for an equivalent weight of gold coin or an equivalent value of silver coin, the ratio of weight and value between gold and silver bullion, and between gold and silver money being equally $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. This law made bullion, whether gold or silver, of equal value to money, and therefore, for the purpose of this argument, it should be classed as "Money." Call English goods "*a*," and money "*b*," Indian produce was then exchanged for $a + b$.

After the assumption of the direct Government of India by the Crown in 1858, a third element of exchange presented itself in India Council Bills, *i.e.*, Government rupee bank drafts, sold for sterling in London and payable in India in rupees. These drafts were drawn to pay for the ever increasing English demands for interest on Government and railway loans, for the military depôts in England chargeable to India for recruits, &c., for the cost and maintenance of troopships, and for pay and pension payable at the India Office, amounting, at the present time, to about £14,000,000 sterling per annum. Call the Council Bills "*c*." Indian produce is thus now paid for in $a + b + c$. "*c*," it will be seen, is really a "minus" quantity; it is the reverse of tangible, it is the acknowledgment and payment of debts and

obligations already incurred, and is the commencement of the drain upon the resources of India, which all deplore, but which, under our present system of Government, it is impossible to avoid. The abolition of the Company's rule, the institution of English banks, railways, and joint stock companies in India, largely increased the number of English and European residents, much of whose pay is spent in Europe-made goods, such as food, drink and clothing, and whose savings, remitted to Europe during their years of work and leave, or after their retirement from service, form an additional drain upon the resources of India. Call these private remittances "*d*." Indian produce is thus exchanged for $a+b+c+d$. These private remittances are variously estimated to amount to from 5 to 8 millions sterling yearly. The value of the Europe-made goods also must be large, goods which are consumed by Europeans in India, and by the "classes" who are, in one way or another, adopting English modes of life, such as native Princes and their courts, zemindars, and money-lenders, men who are spenders not workers, and who do not by their labour add to the productive wealth of the country in which they live. It falls within the scope of this article to indicate the causes of the fluctuations in the value of India Council Bills as represented by the varying price of silver bullion, and to point out the most feasible remedy; and it is necessary to point out that these Europe-made goods, supplied to those who do not produce goods for use, are one of the unavoidable penalties directly traceable to foreign domination. It would be impossible to obtain absolute accuracy, but a study of the Indian Custom House Returns would give a near approximation of the value of the goods which are imported for the sustenance of the classes above referred to, and which are, in this connection, luxuries, not necessities. It would not be excessive to estimate that one-half of the incomes of Europeans, one-fourth of those of the zemindar and money-lending class, and one-twelfth of those of native Princes, are thus spent out of India, or for articles of luxury not produced in India. It is beside the mark to argue that money has been borrowed for the construction of railways, and that interest is justly payable thereon, that English employees are essential for the administration of the railways and the Government, and that they must have liberty to spend their incomes when and where and how they please; all that goes without saying. It must, on the other hand, be allowed that only the railways have made it possible to transport the increased body of produce to the coast and so give it a commercial value; had it not been for the railways, other and more economical methods of administering the Government revenues would have necessarily been discovered

and acted upon. Separate then Europe goods "*a*" into necessities "*e*" and luxuries "*f*," Indian produce is thus exchanged for $b+c+d+e+f$. The only items in this exchange, adding to the wealth of India, are "*b*" and "*e*," namely "*b*" bullion or money always exchangeable for goods, and "*e*," useful goods. The other three items, "*c*," Council bills, "*d*," private remittances spent out of India, and "*f*," Europe-made luxuries, are "minus" quantities, forming a drain on the resources of the country, which all wise Governments would desire to see reduced to the lowest point.

As it is not necessary to pursue this branch of the enquiry further, let the problem be again stated in its simpler form, that Indian produce, while the Latin Bi-metallic Union was in force, was exchanged for three items $a+b+c$, goods, money and Council bills. When this Union was abrogated, "*b*," money, became split up into its two factors "*g*," silver, and "*h*," gold bullion; or, seeing that gold still remained the equivalent of money, it will be better to name the two items "silver bullion" and "money." Indian produce is thus now exchanged for four items, $a+c+g+h$. There was before only one variable quantity "*c*," Council bills; there are now two variable quantities, "*c*," Council bills, and "*g*," silver bullion. Silver from that time, and for the first time, entered into competition with Council bills. Silver, as the continually debasing metal of the Eastern exchanges, has had an evil effect upon India Bills in this way. It is not the shipment of silver, but its competition in private hands with Council bills, allowed by the Indian Government, that has been productive of so much mischief. From the moment that the tenderers for Council bills first said to the India Office, "if you do not accept our price for the bills we will purchase silver in the market in competition with you," from that moment the Indian Office should have replied, "we will render such competition impossible by at once obtaining from Parliament powers to stop the private coinage of silver, to purchase silver in London and India at the market rate, and to coin, on Government account, in the Indian mints, all the silver rupees needed to meet payment of our bills as they fall due, and also to purchase and coin such further quantity of silver as may be required by the course of trade." The Indian market rate for silver would thus have been the same as the London rate, but in rupees calculated at the exchange of the day, *plus* shipping and insurance charges.

Had this been then done, the Indian Government might, to this day, have kept its exchange stable at 1s. 10½*d.* per rupee, silver would no longer have been allowed falsely to call itself "money"; it would have taken its proper place in Indian trade as "bullion," and the Government, instead of losing

heavily as it has done, would have made a profit on each year's remittances.

It may not be out of place to indicate the probable means by which the depreciation of silver has depreciated the value of Europe-made goods, and appreciated gold, each of these three items of trade acting and re-acting upon the other. Silver was originally, when at par with gold, worth 5 shillings or 60*d.* per oz., equal to a value of about 1*s.* 10½*d.* per rupee. This is called par value or par of exchange. "Silver" was then, equally with gold, "money," *i. e.*, exchangeable by law at the above rate with its then value in money. When the Latin Union was broken up, silver became *ipso facto* "bullion," it lost its position of "money," which was retained only by "gold," for the law as to the value of gold still remained in force. Silver became a marketable commodity with a falling and rising value.

Assume that the market price of silver fell from 60*d.* to 59*d.* The India Office then found that their bills, being sold in competition with silver, would only fetch 1*s.* 10⅛*d.* instead of 1*s.* 10½*d.*, being the equivalent of the lower market price of silver; thus $22\frac{1}{2}d. \times \frac{59}{60}d.$ equals 1*s.* 10⅛*d.* The price of silver becoming lower, depreciated the value of these rupee bills, which are purchased in London by the Indian banks and merchants in the appreciated money gold, and correspondingly depreciated the value of the rupee, which is exchanged for these bills by the Government on their arrival in India. Unfortunately, it is the appreciation of a "debt" or obligation to pay, which the Indian Government has had to make good in a depreciated currency. So that at the present time, with silver at the approximate value of 42⅔*d.* per oz., the rupee, as represented in India Council bills, is worth 1*s.* 4*d.* or thereabouts, instead of 1*s.* 10½*d.* Indian produce, which was formerly paid for by $a+c+g+h$ in a stable currency circulating at par exchange value with gold, is now paid for by $A+C+G+H$. Three items in the variable exchange are altered: "G," silver is depreciated, "C," Rupee Council bills are depreciated, "H," gold is appreciated.

To put it in another way, the Council bills have not really depreciated but appreciated. The rupee currency, in which they are drawn and have to be paid in India, has depreciated, but the bills themselves, being sold in London in sterling currency, to meet obligations that have been incurred and have to be met in sterling, have appreciated in value, but unfortunately it is the appreciation of a debt, not of an asset. Hence the reason why, with exchange at 1*s.* 4*d.* or nearly so, in the place of 1*s.* 10½*d.* the Indian Government in meeting £14,000,000 of obligations have to pay Rx. 21,000,000, and

as par of exchange at 1s. 10½d. would have cost about Rx. 15,000,000, it has to suffer a loss of about Rx. 6,000,000 upon each year's transactions with England. As a fact "A," English goods, are also depreciated *pari passu* with silver or nearly so, for the reason that over-production has caused a fall in the "gold" prices of English goods. These goods, owing to cheap Russian and Indian corn (exchanged for silver) have been thrown upon the English workmen's wages, who with cheap corn is thus able to work for a lower minimum subsistence wage as represented in gold. The "classes" who at home have benefited by this huge disturbance of the world's exchanges are bankers, the holders of the world's gold, and the mortgagee class, who have lent their money to Home and Foreign Governments and Companies all over the world, their interest and principal being re-payable in appreciated gold, but really paid in the increased quantity of the world's produce as valued in depreciated silver.

Curiously the home working man also, the holder of the world's labour force, who sells this force for wages paid in gold, must be held, for the time being, to have greatly benefited by the increased quantity of goods which his wages now purchase; and though, in the long course of years, the "iron law of wages" is bound to lower these wages down to the limit at which, in each country, the unskilled worker will apply himself to provide subsistence for himself and family, yet this law is slow in operation, especially as the worker is now aided by the re-discovered principles of combination and co-operation. These principles bid fair to raise, to an at present indefinite extent, or at least to prevent the further lowering of the wages and standard of living of the producer. Accompanied by the international movement now going on for the reduction of working hours, they are calculated to absorb the unemployed, and by the increased aggregate of wages thus received and spent by the working class in procuring the necessities of food and clothing, they show every probability of increasing the amount of the internal trade in home-produced goods and manufactures, the increased demand for which will tell in increasing their price, and the general prosperity of the home country. That is, the tax hitherto paid by the working man and the middle class to provide subsistence for paupers, bids fair to diminish in intensity, these very paupers, through the reduction in the working hours of their comrades, finding useful employment. This is, by the way, only a forecast of the tendency of future trade. If "improved trade" should thus, in the next few years, overtake and distance "production," the prices of home manufactures will rise, the Indian importer will have to pay more for them, he will reduce his orders, the total value of

English imported goods will diminish, with the result that the competition of English made goods with Council Bills will be reduced in intensity, and Council Bills will thus rise in value, *i.e.*, the value of the rupee as represented in its exchange with the English shilling will naturally increase. For the present, however, our concern is with the rupee as it now is and has been for the past 16 years.

It is thus the interest of every English workman, and of all in receipt of salaries and dividends in England, to fight against bi-metallism. For the same reason, though every capitalist, employer, and small shopkeeper lives in the daily hope of making a profit by reducing the wages of his employees, yet he sees clearly that this can only be done by keeping down, or still further reducing, the price of the necessaries of life, of all products which are imported from silver-using countries. Thus the only class who in England, are vitally interested in bi-metallism, are the owners of the agricultural land in the British Isles, the thousand landlords who now find, to their dismay, the whole country against them. When Mr. Chaplin, a few months ago, brought forward his motion on the subject in Parliament, he got scant encouragement from Lord Salisbury the Prime Minister, who said that the Government could not bring in a Bill until the subject had been thoroughly discussed. Then the organs of the Democracy discussed their view of the matter, by declaring that they clearly understood bi-metallism to mean the doubling the present available supply of money in the world, which meant doubling the cost of all the food and clothing they had to buy, and was equivalent to reducing their present wages by one half. Thus bi-metallism, whatever life it may have had, is now dead in England; and the landlords know it. Their sole satisfaction is that only agricultural land has fallen in value. Town lots are as valuable as ever, and as the richer landlords are rich in town lots, these have the opportunity of buying the depreciated country land from their poorer brethren, who will thus have to go to the wall. For good or ill, the trade of all silver-using nations with civilized countries must in future be carried on in the gold standard; and if the Indian Government have hitherto hoped to benefit by the bi-metallic agitation, the idea had better be abandoned,—what salvation is possible must come from themselves.

What course is then open to the Indian Government, but also to adopt the gold standard? This standard is only required in the commercial transactions of the Indian Government and her subjects with England. This has in effect been the standard of the Government of India for this purpose from the time of the direct Government of India by the Queen in 1858,

and also during all the previous years of the Company's rule from the time, in 1815, when the silver standard was abandoned by England. For all these years all the home obligations of the Company and Crown Government have been discharged in London in pounds sterling. Up to the break up of the Latin Union, there was no need for the Indian Government to move in the matter, for the balance of trade, owing to the American war and other causes, was always in favour of India; the value of the rupee in the earlier part of the century being 2s. 6d. to 2s. 3d., and never falling below its par value of 1s. 10½d. As soon as the rupee fell an appreciable fraction below par value, it was the duty of the Indian Government to stop private coinage and coin for trade requirements on its own account. It became absolutely necessary to prevent such competition with the Indian token of value as would keep its standard value from being affected by the fluctuations of the silver trade. From the moment the Latin Union was broken up, all the silver coin of trading nations, used in the operations of foreign commerce, fell from the position of standard to that of Token coins. England recognized this by refusing to coin private silver on demand: so did France, Holland and the United States. In England silver coin is exchangeable for gold coin up to a limit of £2; in France, Holland and the United States it is exchangeable for gold coin without limit.

Thus, in all these countries, the coinage of private silver bullion was necessarily stopped, and the stability of value of the silver coinage of each Government was secured by exchanging it, without limit, into gold. The result of this change of policy has been that gold only is used for foreign commerce in the countries named. The silver coin from that time, though of token value only, circulates in each country equally with gold, and is of equal value, and is therefore, for the purposes of internal trade, equally with gold, the standard coin of the country. It is the standard because its value is fixed by law. The Indian Government is in the same position as England to this extent, that its standard, for all foreign purposes is and must be gold. Unfortunately, it has never taken the one necessary legal step to make the now token coin, the rupee, the standard of value for internal trade, by giving the rupee a fixed value of exchange in relation to the pound sterling, and by agreeing to exchange the rupee without limit, or up a certain limit, with the gold sovereign. The Indian Government already does this to the limit of £14,000,000 sterling per annum in Council Bills, exchanging these in India for Rx. 21,000,000 at or about the exchange of 1s. 4d. It also coins private silver bars in India to

the extent of Rx. 10,000,000 per annum, exchanging this value of rupees for these bars.

The only effect to be provided for in stopping private coinage will be, that the Indian Government should increase its sales of Council Bills in London to £20,666,666 at the exchange of 1s. 4d. or thereabouts, purchasing out of the additional proceeds, the £6,666,666 worth of silver bars for shipment to India, and paying in India for these Council Bills, as they fall due, the total amount of Rx. 31,000,000. Here the exchange rate has been assumed at 1s. 4d. for convenience of calculation, and because it is very nearly the actual rate now obtained. The effect of such a law passed by Parliament would be that the Indian Government would agree to exchange rupees for pounds sterling at the rate of 1s. 4d. per rupee. The result of this simple, but vital change in the position of the Indian Government would be, that it would *guarantee* the value of the rupee to be 1s. 4d. to the extent of £20,666,666 per annum. From the time that such a law was passed, the value of the rupee would be fixed at that rate, and would be independent of the fluctuations of the silver bullion market, no matter how low silver bullion might fall below its present value per ounce. No more silver bullion would be shipped to India by the Banks for conversion into rupees, for the simple reason that the Indian Government would refuse any longer to coin it for the Banks.

It would only continue to be shipped as a commodity to such extent as would supply the demand for manufacture of ornaments and for re-shipment to other foreign countries. Suppose, for instance, that subsequent to the new policy being initiated, the value of silver bars were to fall to 1s. 3d. per oz., one rupees weight of silver would sell in India for 15-16ths of one rupee. It is interesting now to trace what would be the effect of such further fall in the value of silver. The value of the rupee being 1s. 4d. as fixed by law, the obligations of the Indian Government would be met by the payment of Rx. 21,000,000. But for this law the Government would have had to pay about Rx. 22,400,000, and they would thus be saved a further loss of Rx. 1,400,000. The Government would have been saved not only this loss, but have made a gain or additional seigniorage of 1-16th of the Rx. 10,000,000 worth of silver purchased upon Government account amounting to Rx. 625,000. But silver bullion having, by this action of the Indian Government, been divorced from its former false position of money, its influence upon the Indian rupee is lost. It has no further effect either for good or ill, except to depreciate the value of the hoards of silver jewellery, waist chains and anklets held in the country, which will only be saleable at the reduced price of silver. Indian produce will be purchased

in India for the same value in rupees as before the fall in silver, and through the fixed exchange of the Government, be sold for the same value in pounds sterling in Europe. The merchant who now has telegraphed to him daily the London price of silver, will no longer be obliged to regard its fluctuations with concern. The exchange value of the rupee, as fixed by the Government of India, will, in future, form the basis of his commercial transactions with Europe.

But it is by no means likely that silver bullion will fall in value to any appreciable fraction below the fixed value of the rupee. Silver will, as formerly, make up the balance of trade transactions with India; it will be purchased, shipped, and coined by the Government for this purpose, and will therefore be as much in demand as before. It has already been shown that the rupee value of Indian wheat has ruled the price of this commodity all the world over, and thus, as the universal food of civilized man, has formed the basis of value of the majority of manufactured articles and of the wages of the workman who produces them and lives by them. The price of Indian wheat has thus also ruled the price of silver bullion, produced, like other commodities, by labour, and which only fell in value through the competition with Council Bills unwisely allowed by the Government of India to exist. It is more than probable that, this incubus being removed, the price of silver will, within reasonable limits, continue yearly to approximate to the legally fixed value of the Indian rupee, whatever that value may be. Suppose, for instance, that the Indian Government should fix that for the next 12 months certain, it would sell its Rupee Bills for sterling in London or India at the price of 1s. 5d. per rupee, the probability is, that the price of silver bullion would immediately, or within a short period, rise in London to the equivalent of that increased price, as a consequence of the known fact, that the Indian Government is necessarily the largest purchaser of silver bullion in the world, and thus holds the most commanding position in the market. If the price of silver should not rise, then so much the better for the immediate financial position of the Indian Government, which would make the clear profit of one penny in each rupee, equal, as already stated, to Rx. 2,025,000. The Indian Government, however, would not commence by raising the rate. The present paramount necessity is, that the real exchange value of the rupee should be known, and that this knowledge should be discounted for at least six months in advance. To the merchant it matters not what its value is; the railways are bound to bring the produce to the coast, and the merchants will despatch it to Europe; but the exchange of Europe goods with Indian produce has hitherto been one huge gambling

transaction, because the merchant in India, and the merchant in Europe have had only the vaguest idea of what the value of the rupee would be in the ensuing year, and have only been able to trade by contracting for the exchange rate with the Banks, months in advance.

It seems, therefore, the safer plan that the Indian Government should declare, that, having stopped the coinage of private silver, it will, for the ensuing 12 months, sell its Rupee Bills at the average rate obtained for the current year, viz. 1s. $4\frac{1}{4}d.$ or thereabouts, and allow the novel conditions of trade to become established. Should the value of silver during the ensuing twelve months rise above the fixed value of the rupee as declared, the Indian Government would incur an immediate certain loss, but its future financial position would be bettered. For the following years, when the Indian Budget was brought forward, either at Calcutta or London, the Government would declare what would be the fixed rate of exchange of the rupee for the ensuing twelve months, commencing six months from the date the declaration was made. As again it would be safer not to make sudden changes at the end of the first year, it would be sufficient, for the following year, to declare that the Indian Government would, six months from date, raise its rate of exchange by $\frac{1}{32}$ nd of a penny, by increments of $\frac{1}{32}$ nd of a penny per week, which would, by the end of the ensuing 18 months, increase the rate by $1\frac{5}{8}d.$, making the value of the rupee, at the end of the term, 1s. $5\frac{7}{8}d.$ It would not be necessary that the Government should sell an equal amount weekly, the amount of the sales should correspond with the busy and slack seasons in India, and would be regulated by the trade demand.

The commercial world is usually keen to understand those financial measures which affect it, and within a month of each measure of policy being declared, its effect would be seen and discounted, and the Indian Government would have time to consider what further steps it would be prudent to take.

Through all the long course in the debasement of silver bullion for the past 16 years, there is but one consensus of opinion, that, upon the whole, the value of the rupee has not depreciated in India, its purchasing power has remained steady. What is equally accepted as a fact is, that the merchant in India, finding it impossible, as the corollary of the above rupee values, to increase the rupee values of the Europe goods ordered by him, has been able, through the weakness,—induced by the depreciating value of silver,—of the English market in London, Birmingham, Belgian and Manchester goods, by means of the telegraph, to decline to enhance his offered prices beyond the old rupee limits, has depreciated the English

prices until they came down to his figure, and thus, placing his orders in sterling at prices equivalent in India to the old rupee prices, has succeeded in throwing the loss by exchange upon the shoulders of the English manufacturer. In this he has been helped by the Suez Canal, by means of which Indian produce is now exchanged for English goods in a remarkably short time. The converse of this is now likely to happen under the new order of things. Should the Indian Government find it advisable to establish a rise of one penny in the value of the rupee, the price of wheat being steady in India, and Indian wheat ruling the world market for this article, wheat will in due course of time be sold in London and Liverpool at one-sixteenth above its present price, and will thus rule the market price for all Europe manufactures, silver included, which will also rise in value to an equal amount.

If then the change of policy here advocated has been argued upon right lines, a policy which may at some future time bring back the rupee to its par value, the proper course for the Indian Government to pursue is, to stop the competition of the silver market with Council Bills, and for this purpose to obtain from Parliament the abrogation of the Act by which silver bullion in private hands is coined into rupees free on demand.

It is interesting also to notice that by proceeding upon these lines, every silver-using country throughout the world, having its own minted coinage, will participate equally with India in the beneficial connection with the monometallic gold coinage of Europe. By shutting out the private coinage of silver, and supplying the trade demand from its own mint, its silver coinage will become its standard token coin for internal trade, and will exchange at fixed rates with gold; these rates, within reasonable limits, approximating to those fixed by the Indian Government. This favourable forecast in respect of foreign countries outside of India must, however, be taken with this reservation, that their Government bills, drawn upon them to meet their obligations in Europe, must not exceed the balance of trade in their favour, *i.e.*, must not exceed the difference or excess of exports of produce over imports of Europe goods. Unless the value of the exports is sufficiently large to balance the imports of Europe goods, bullion and Government bills, the credit of the Government is impaired, and bankruptcy and repudiation come within measurable distance.

Up to now the energy which English blood has imparted to the Government of India has prevented this catastrophe, and the export trade has not yet reached its limits; but we know at how great a strain on the material well being of the

country this trade is being carried on, and we must be careful, in our eagerness, not to draw the reins too tightly.

D. GOSTLING.

P. S.—The above article was written in August of last year during the voyage out to India, and was one result of a trip home, in which the writer had enjoyed the opportunity of studying Indian questions from the English standpoint. When the article was being written, exchange was at 1s. 4d. or nearly so, and was steady, showing no signs of that slow and persistent rise that shortly after commenced. Exchange has since gone up almost without a break in its upward movement till it touched 1s. 5½d., and now, in the middle of February, it has, within the short space of a week, tumbled down to 1s. 4⅞d., a fall of fully ½d., or 3 per cent., sufficient to change many an expected merchant's profit into a serious loss, and through the influences induced by panic, to make steady exchange values impossible. It is too soon to indicate what has been the cause of this sudden fall; the only warning note has been that the Bank rates for forward bills have been throughout markedly lower than those for ready transactions. It is also difficult to understand, without fuller information than is at present available, the causes of the steady rise, which has only too quickly come to an end, and dashed to the ground the expectations of many who had convinced themselves that the rupee would shortly touch 1s. 6d. It is probable that more than one cause has been in operation.

It may be that the last year's harvest in India has been better, causing more produce to be brought to the coast; or that the extension of special railways—such as that through Nagpur and Raipur to Orissa and towards Calcutta—has opened up new markets of Indian produce hitherto not available.

It is likely that the labor disputes in England and on the Continent have had much to do with the change for the better. The workman in the unskilled trades is showing a solidarity and power of organization such as he never before exhibited. Agitation had been going on for a long time past among the coal miners in the North of England, Scotland, Belgium, and Prussia for the purpose, partly of reducing their normal day to eight hours, and partly with the view of reducing the output to five or four day's work per week. The agitation has extended to the skilled and unskilled workers in the iron trades, and the result has been that in July of last year, wrought iron had gone up 10 per cent. and showed signs of making another rise of 5 per cent. It is now in some descriptions 50 per cent. higher in price than in the corresponding month of last year. The workman's wages have been increased perhaps 30 per cent., being

equal probably to 10 per cent., or a one-fifth share of the above total rise in price, the remaining four-fifths, as is usual, having gone into the pockets of the host of middlemen, without whom business in England is impossible. In the meantime something like a panic has set in, so much so, that in the machinery and other iron trades, makers have been laying in heavy stocks of the raw material, in order to secure themselves against the effects of a further rise.

The rise in home values has at last reached the Lancashire Spinning Mills, which are now having better times than they have had for years past. The natural consequence of the increase in gold prices of Europe-made goods is, that the native merchant in India not being able to get his goods at the old figures, may have been slow to increase his rates, with the result that fewer goods are being ordered and shipped to India, and that a greater demand has been therefore made for remittance to India upon silver and Council Bills.

It remains to be seen if the British workman is able permanently to increase the prices of the goods made by him. It should be remembered that new machinery is ever being invented to increase the power of production.

In the meantime we have for some time past in Bombay witnessed the spectacle of the Exchange Banks, which, having presumably shipped much silver to India for coinage into Rupees, and being unable to get delivery of it quickly from the mints, have been obliged to borrow what money they could from the local Shroffs at high rates of interest for two months, in order to meet their current obligations.

Had exchange continued to go up steadily and continuously without a fall, a policy of waiting upon events would probably have been the best for the Government to pursue. But this sudden drop shows that the Indian Government is still the sport of circumstances, and that it must make the stongest efforts to release itself from the chain of existing evil surroundings. All that can safely be predicated at present is, that the values of English-made goods are likely to be higher for some time to come than in former years, that these higher values will somewhat restrict their shipment to India and cause a greater demand upon silver and Council Bills. It may also be that the greater output of gold in Africa is somewhat depreciating its value.

Still the duty of the India Government is clear, to move the English Parliament to pass a new Bill giving power to stop the private coinage of silver, to purchase silver, and coin on Government account all the rupees required for trade demand, as detailed in the above pages.

D. G.

ART. VIII.—TIMUR.

TIMUR has had the misfortune of being servilely flattered on the one hand and severely traduced on the other. Of the two historians who have written largely about him, neither has done him full justice. Sharafuddin sees nothing bad in his character; Arabshah nothing good in it. The former describes him as an emblem of purity, and lauds him up to the seventh heaven, the latter represents him as a monster of cruelty and condemns him to the bottomless pit. The fact, however, is that both are guilty of wilful concealment and have given garbled accounts.

Sharafuddin makes too much of the light side without taking notice of the dark; Arabshah, on the contrary, makes too much of the dark side without taking notice of the light; and hence the pictures they have presented differ so much from the original. These extremes of partiality and malevolence were due to the different feelings by which the two authors were influenced in respect of the subject of their memoirs. The Persian was so deeply moved with a sense of gratitude that he employed all the powers of his pen in extolling the great hero who had brought peace and order unto Iran where there was anarchy and confusion: whereas the Syrian could not but breathe vengeance against the ruthless destroyer who had made a clean sweep of Aleppo, Damascus and Bagdad. It is only by correcting the luscious sweets of the one by the bitters of the other that the genuine article can be educed in its primitive purity.

A kinsman of the great Chingiz, Timur was undoubtedly of noble origin. But noble as his origin was, his feelings were nobler still. He felt more for his country than his country felt for him, and stood forth as its deliverer when he was very young. He was a born soldier, and had fleshed his sword just after entering on his teens. Since the fall of the house of Chingiz, Transoxiana had been torn by intestine feuds and factions. The emirs aspired to independence and drew their swords against each other. The Khan of Kashgar, taking advantage of this state of affairs, invaded the country with an army of Getes. Timur was ready to fight for his fatherland, but not being supported by the chiefs, reluctantly retreated to the desert with his family and a few faithful followers. Some years after, fortune smiled upon him. Many of his brother nobles met him in the desert and induced him

to return. He came back and his trusty band being increased by the bravest of the tribes, he encountered the Getes, and having defeated them in several engagements, turned them out of the land of the Chaghtai. His countrymen were so highly pleased with his noble and heroic conduct that they unanimously invested him with *Imperial* command in 1370 A. D. when he was aged four and thirty years only. But Transoxiana was too small a country to satisfy the ambitious spirit of Timur. Like young Ammon he longed for the conquest of the world. He first turned his eyes towards Iran or Persia. This country had been conquered by Hulagu Khan, the grandson of Chingiz in 1250 A. D., and was held by him and his descendants for several decades. On the death of the last of them, Abusaid, it was left without a lawful sovereign. Anarchy prevailed in consequence, and the provincial governors took advantage of it by playing the tyrants. But as they did not live in peace and harmony with each other, they at last fell victims to the sweeping arms of Timur. Many surrendered at discretion, and the few that stood up against him were eventually forced to yield.

Of these brave princes, Shah Mansur of Faris or Persia Proper, was conspicuous for his courage and bravery. He engaged the proud Mughal under the walls of Shiraz, and had well-nigh defeated him, when the tide of victory turned and overwhelmed him. His head was thrown at the victor's feet, who rewarded his valour by extirpating his intrepid clansmen. In this way the whole of Iran came under the sway of the great Mughal.

Timur then invaded Tartary. This country consists of two parts, the eastern and the western. The former is known by the name of Turkistan, the latter by that of Kipzak. The vengeful Mughal passed the Sihoon, defeated the Getes, and took possession of the kingdom of Kashgar. Kipzak too fell before him after some resistance. It was ruled by Tugtamish Khan who was under much obligation to the House of Chaghtai. But having proved ungrateful, Timur attacked him in his own land and made him feel the force of his mighty arm. The unfortunate prince fled from his kingdom, and after some vain attempts at regaining his throne, at last perished in the wilds of Siberia. Even Russia was threatened by the victorious Mughal, and a Duke of the reigning family was made prisoner amidst the ruins of his capital; but fortunately for the trembling Russians, their rich metropolis, Moscow, escaped his arms. He turned southwards, and having in the way reduced to ashes Azoph, Serai and Astrachan, returned to Samarqand, loaded with riches and spoils.

It was in 1397 A.D., that Timur first proposed to invade

Hindoostan. When this proposal was made known to his princes and emirs, they were quite startled, for they were under the impression that it was very difficult, if not impossible, to carry it into execution. They accordingly expressed signs of discontent ; but Timur was not the man to be thus dissuaded from an enterprise on which he had set his whole heart. But though he was of an adventurous spirit, he was not open to the charge of rashness. He first engaged spies to ascertain the state of the Indian Empire, and being informed by them of its weakness, sent his grandson Pir Mahommed to pave the way for him by reducing the Panjaub and Moulton. The Patan rule was then in a tottering state. The Emperor Mahmood III was a very weak ruler and was despised even in his own harem. Most of the satrapes revolted and proclaimed independence. As for the distant provinces of Bengal and Bihar, they had become independent long before. Chaitmal, son of Raja Gonesh, was then on the throne of Gaur. He was a worthy prince and ruled the kingdom with justice and moderation. Timur who possessed strong common sense easily saw that though the enterprise wore a very tremendous aspect, it was easy in the execution.

It was in the latter part of 1398 A.D., that Timur set out on his Indian expedition at the head of ninety-two thousand horse. Writers differ as to whether he took the Lamghanat or the Bangash road, these highways being respectively situated to the north and south of the snow-capped mountain-range which crosses Cabul from west to east. The former road led to the site of Atok, the latter to Deencote. But whatever doubt there might be as to the route taken by that invader, there is none about the month in which he passed over to India. It was October, and De la Croix even goes so far as to state the very date, which, according to him, was the eleventh. After crossing the Indus, Timur did not take the right royal road to Delhi, which was by Rotas and Lahor, his first object being to effect a junction with the army of his grandson, Pir Muhammad, who was then besieging Moulton. He accordingly directed his course towards the south-east, and after two and ten days arrived at the confluence of the Chenab and the Beas. Thence he proceeded to Toulamba on the Ravi, and reached it after one day's march, leaving the main army behind. Toulamba was a considerable town and a pass of consequence. It was in the vicinity of this place that the warlike Malli had showed such a bold front to Alexander the Great. Timur stayed at Toulamba six days, by which time his whole army had joined him ; and then proceeded with it across the Baree Doabah to Shanawaz, a large and populous town near the south bank of the Beas, after its separation from the Sutledge. Thence he

crossed over to the town of Jenjian on the south bank of the Beas, where he was joined by Pir Muhammad after the latter had taken Moulton. Three marches from Jenjian brought the Mughal army to Jehaul on the road to Delhi. Here Timur separated from his grand army, which he directed to proceed by Dipalpur and to rendezvous at Samanah, whilst he proceeded with ten thousand horse to Bhatnir, a strong fortress situated beyond the desert which stretches along the south side of the Sutledge. That stronghold had a great reputation for strength, and one might think that he was led to it by some such inducement as had led the Macedonian hero to Aornos. By rapid marches he soon reached Bhatnir and reduced it in a few days. Thence he proceeded towards Samanah, where he joined the main army on the 8th December 1398 A. D. Delhi was about eight-five *cosses* from Samanah, which the Mughal army travelled in twelve days. Timur laid siege to the metropolis of Hindustan. Delhi was strongly built and might have stood the siege for a considerable time, but tempted by the appearance of weakness on the part of the Mughals, the foolish Emperor, and his equally foolish vizier, descended into the plain with 10 000 cavalry, 4,000 foot guards, and 120 elephants. The elephants made a fierce charge, but no sooner were these unwieldy animals routed than the soldiers turned their backs and fled for life. Mahmood escaped to Guzerat, and Delhi thus fell into the hands of the Mughals. The victor made his triumphal entry into the far-famed Capital, but the glory of the victory was polluted by a general pillage and massacre. Some days after, he made an excursion to the north-east into the Doab, took the city of Mirat, twenty-three *cosses* from Delhi, advanced to the Ganges which he passed, and having fought several battles by land and water penetrated to the famous rock of Coupele, the Kanakhala of the Sanscrit poets, where the sacred river issues out of the Srinagar mountains. From the banks of the Ganges he proceeded to the north-west along the foot of the Sewalic hills, by Meliapur, Jallindhar and Jammoo, to the Indus, which he crossed, and returned to Samarqand by the same route by which he had come.

The Emperor Mahmood came back with a heavy heart to Delhi which had not yet recovered from the terrible shock it had received from the Mughals. Though he was not deprived of his throne, he was deprived of everything that gives it honor and dignity. The few years that still remained of his unhappy life were passed in obscurity, and he died unwept, unhonored and unsung. With his death terminated the Patan rule in Delhi.

After the conquest of Hindustan, Timur cast his eyes upon the Ottoman Empire. Sultan Bayazid had become too

proud and powerful, and it was high time that he should be put down with a high hand. Timur accordingly invaded Anatolia with a large army. The Sultan encountered him at Ancona, where after a hard-fought battle, the strong Turk became a prisoner in the hands of the stronger Mughal. The pride of Bayazid was humbled to the dust, and he felt his reverses so very deeply, that a few months after they were buried with him in the grave.

The last enterprise in which Timur was engaged was the conquest of China. That country had been conquered by Kublai Khan, grandson of Chingiz Khan, but it afterwards passed again into the hands of the Chinese. Timur had a mind to restore the Mughal sway in that land, and it is very likely that had his life been spared only a few months more, he would have fulfilled his desire. But as it was he died on the way on 1st April 1405 A. D. Thus China was saved from impending ruin, and fourteen years after his death the most powerful of his children sent an embassy of friendship and commerce to the Court of Pekin.

The fame of Timur which has pervaded the whole world rests principally on his conquests. Ambition was his ruling passion : it gave him no repose, but led him on from conquest to conquest. Even the infirmities of age did not weaken it in the least. It rushed on like a mighty torrent sweeping down every thing that stood in its way, and it had made a very long circuit indeed, when it was swallowed up in the grave. After he had humbled the pride of the Turkish Sultan, there was none bold enough to measure strength with him. He was justly called the Emperor of Asia. As for the sovereign of the Celestial Empire, though he fortunately escaped his arms, still he trembled at his very name. The proud title of Conqueror Timur fully deserved. His conquests surpassed those of his great ancestor, Chingiz Khan, and rivalled those of the Macedonian Hero. But he seemed to have made conquests for conquests' sake, and if he had any other object in view, it was plunder. Barring Transoxiana and Persia, which he laboured to improve and adorn, this remark applies to almost all his other conquests. After he had fleeced and destroyed the most flourishing cities, he left the provinces to shift for themselves, taking no thought of them for the future. Thus, in many cases, his most destructive inroads remind us of the much-dreaded king of the Huns who was very aptly styled the Scourge of God. Timur was so much elated by his rapid successes that he sometimes forgot that he was a mortal ; and his feasts of victory were generally celebrated in the midst of columns and pyramids of human heads. He was certainly a ferocious man of blood, and the victims of his cruelty were

simply innumerable. The philosophic historian of the Roman Empire justly observes that perhaps his conscience would have been startled, if a priest or a sage had dared to number the millions whom he had sacrificed to the establishment of peace and order.

But though Timur was cruel in conquering, he was not equally cruel in ruling. Indeed, his government was characterised by justice and impartiality, and his subjects found so much to admire in him that they revered him almost as a deity. Even his bitterest enemies could not deny him some praise in the matter of his administration in which he stood alone, having had no minister to assist him. But it was only by fits and starts that he could look into the affairs of his government. Like the illustrious Tribune Rienzi, he was patient to hear, swift to redress, and inexorable to punish. Even his sons and grandsons, if they committed some offence, or deviated from the path of duty, did not go unpunished. Vice and idleness were abolished, and his vast dominions were so far reclaimed from anarchy and rapine, that even the weakest mortal might carry a purse of gold from one end to the other without running the risk of being robbed or hurt. The main reason why Asia again fell into chaos and confusion after his death was his not having had due opportunities of consolidating it into a compact whole. That difficult task was left to his successors, but it was too much for their ordinary abilities. As a matter of fact, the blessings of his administration vanished with his life; and the power of his descendants was steadily on the decline till it was utterly destroyed by the Uzbeks on the one side and the Turkomans on the other. The race of Timur would have been extinct, if Umar Shaik Mirza, a descendant of his in the fifth degree, had not fled before the Uzbek arms to the conquest of Hindustan.

Chingiz was illiterate, but not so Timur. The latter, though ignorant of the Arabic tongue, was well up in Persian and Turkish. It is believed that he himself composed the *Commentaries* and the *Institutions* of his government. The winner of seven-and-twenty crowns felt great pleasure in conversing with the wise and the learned; and he frequently rewarded them with rich and valuable presents. But much as he valued them for their learning, he all but despised them for their want of military merits, and while out campaigning it was his usual custom to place them in the rear of the women. Timur's liberality was equal to his rank and position. But he was too wise to emulate the magnificence of the Persian kings or the extravagance of the Caliphs of Bagdad. In fact, it was only at the nuptials of his grandsons that he much exceeded his usual limits. On these happy occasions he spent

money with both hands as a Hindu would say. Not to speak of the *fetés* and festivals, the illuminations and the masquerades, which were all celebrated on a grand scale, the bridegrooms and the brides were, after the marriage contracts had been ratified by the Kazi, dressed and undressed nine times; and at each change of apparel, pearls and rubies were showered on their heads, and contemptuously abandoned to their attendants. Some such magnificence and prodigality were shown at the nuptials of the Caliph Almamon, so that Milton was perfectly justified in writing as he did,

Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Showers on her Kings barbaric pearls and gold.

Timur was certainly liberal, but he was not liberal to a fault: he was not impoverished by his liberality. In his religion, Timur was a zealous, though not perhaps an orthodox, Musalman; and it seemed that he paid greater reverence to the *Yaksa* (Law of Chingiz) than to the Koran. Hence Arabshah takes him and the Mughals to task for their impiety, and he would not believe that his younger son, Sharokh Mirza had abolished the use and authority of that Pagan Code. But impious Timur was not. The fact was that he held his great ancestor in the highest esteem approaching almost to adoration, and having so regarded him, it was only natural that he should pay implicit obedience to his laws. And these laws anticipated the lessons of philosophy, and established a system of pure theism and perfect toleration.

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ART. IX.—OLD COINS.

A CYNICAL observer might feel disposed to class the collector of old coins with the gatherer of postage stamps, editions of the *Pickwick Papers* in the original covers, and other such curiosities ; and it is not to be denied that some owners of coin cabinets would find it hard to give a rational explanation of their fancy for collecting specimens of uncurrent mintages.

Nevertheless, the cynic I venture to think, would be mistaken, and the existence of collections of old coins can be justified on better grounds than the mere whim of the possessors. Even the most uncritical collector has his use ; for, however ignorant he may be of the real value and manifold interest of his cherished treasures, he has at least the merit of rescuing them from the melting pot for a time, and, if good luck transfers them from his hands to those of a skilled numismatist, the documents ignorantly gathered may, when critically examined, fill up yawning gaps in the history of the past.

I have called coins documents. The appellation is one not generally given to them, but they certainly deserve it as well as any inscribed stone or papyrus, and when, properly interpreted, can be forced to yield up many of the secrets of bygone times.

India is a vast storehouse of ancient coins in endless variety. Every rainy season thousands and thousands of them exude, so to speak, from the surface of the innumerable mounds of ruins which are scattered over the face of the country, and a great many people resident in India form large or small collections. It is, perhaps, safe to assume that most of the owners of such collections belong to the uncritical class, and are not very deeply versed in numismatic lore. They will find their cabinets of much more interest to themselves and of use to the world, if they know something of the lessons to be learned from dingy, and often very ugly and misshapen bits of silver and copper, and in the hope that the readers of the *Calcutta Review* may include some unlearned riders of the numismatic hobby-horse not too proud to take a hint from a fellow cavalier as to the management of their steed, I will try to indicate some of the uses to which old coins, especially in India, can be turned.

Historical philosophers of the modern schools are inclined to despise the old annalists who bothered themselves very little about social development, and were content to record the loves and hates, the battles, murders, and sudden deaths of the kings and princes of the earth. But the philosophers have climbed to their airy height by clambering on the shoulders of the humble annalists, and in practice it is found, that the well-filled canvas, depicting the story of the people's inner life, cannot be stretched without the aid of the old-fashioned framework of reigns and dates.

I claim that my friends the old coins can do right good service to the most philosophical historian, and help him to see a good way into the various walls which block his path, but their use to the less ambitious chronicler is more obvious and indisputable.

It is almost superfluous to repeat the trite observation, that the nations of India have not cared to preserve their annals in any consecutive, intelligible, literary form. Modern scholars by dint of much groping among Puranas and epics, succeed in picking up some few fragments of what passes as historic truth, but, considering the mass of Indian literature and the ardour of the search, the outcome is disappointingly small.

The lost early history of India, so far as it has been recovered from the dusty oblivion of ages, has been the discovery, not of the student of literature, but of the archæologist. The commentator on books has been able to do little more than illustrate by his studies the discoveries of the excavator and coin collector.

The indispensable chronological or segment scaffolding of history in India is certainly as much indebted for its erection to the numismatist as to anybody. It would be an unwarrantable attack on the patience of my readers to enumerate a tithe of the names of dynasties and kings which have been restored to the domain of history by the testimony of imperishable coins, but I may be allowed to cite two very conspicuous cases.

A few slight allusions, occupying perhaps twenty lines altogether, in Strab's and other Greek and Latin authors, are all that books can tell of the long series of Greek kings who ruled in Bactria and on the northwest borderland of India after the death of Alexander the Great, for a period of more than three centuries. Coins have disclosed the names of a multitude of these Greek princes, and to a very large extent have determined their mutual relations and chronological position, thereby rendering no small aid in the reconstruction of the history of India proper.

The second great numismatic discovery of this class to which I have alluded, is that of the great Gupta dynasty which ruled

Northern India from the Gulf of Cutch to the Bay of Bengal in the fourth and fifth centuries of our era. A chance coin picked up by Lieutenant Conolly at Kanauj, gave the first intimation of the existence of this dynasty, and the subsequent finding of specimens of its mintages in extraordinary variety, and frequently dated, has done much to render possible the writing of an interesting chapter of Indian history, which had completely vanished from the memory of man.

There is plenty of room yet for brilliant discoveries in the very imperfectly explored regions of the early history of India, and no owner of a coin cabinet need despair of being the happy man to find in his drawers a coin which will add, if not a whole chapter, at least a paragraph to the history of India which somebody will have to write some day. It has not been written yet.

Some rudimentary coins are nothing more than plain little oblong bits of metal of a certain weight, but ordinarily coins bear either an "image" or a "superscription," and very often both. We all know how the image and superscription of a penny were once used to enforce a moral lesson. Other lessons, too, can be learned from the two faces of a coin.

Could anything bring home more forcibly to the mind the vast extent of the Roman Empire and the vicissitudes of human affairs than the coin of Claudius which was picked up near Madras and commemorates the conquest of Britain, then a land of half naked barbarians? That coin now reposes in a museum formed by men of Britain, whose Empress-Queen now rules an empire far exceeding in magnitude even that of Imperial Rome, and including in its ample bounds those mysterious shores of Ind, which the Lord of Rome knew only from the vague and confused reports of merchants who laid at his feet the silks and spices of the East.

In spite of the allusions to the subject in Pliny and other ancient writers, the development and persistence of Roman trade with India in ancient times could hardly be understood without the help of the numerous imperial coins covering a period of about six centuries which have been found in India from Peshawar to Cape Comorin.

Coins, moreover, teach us that the Roman did more for India than pay her in good specie for the luxuries with which she supplied his wardrobe and table.

There is every reason to believe that the introduction of a gold coinage into India was solely due to Roman influences, and a striking evidence of the accuracy of this assertion is afforded by the fact, that the portrait on the coins of one of the Indo-Scythian kings of the Panjab in the first century of our era, is a copy of the well-known image of Augustus.

So late as A.D. 400 the Gupta gold coins display, in their design and workmanship, clear traces of the long lasting effects of Græco-Roman artistic ideas.

Modern Anglo-Indians would be thankful if their governors could be as successful as the old Indo-Scythian kings in solving the gold currency problem.

It is pleasant to believe, though it must be confessed the proof is not quite conclusive, that certain square pieces, bearing the impress of the Great Alexander, were struck in India, and are contemporary memorials of his wonderful expedition into the country of the five rivers.

I have given above a slight indication of the way in which old coins throw some rays of light on the obscure history of Indian art. The coins of Bactria, which have been already referred to for another purpose, are, as Professor Gardner has pointed out, of special interest for their artistic qualities. Their most conspicuous peculiarity in this respect is the uncompromising realism of the portraits of kings, in which they rival the later Roman art, and it is impossible to look at a coin of Eucratides or Menander without feeling certain that the spectator has before him an authentic contemporary portrait of a mighty man of old India proper, unfortunately, never succeeded in producing a die-cutter who could execute a real portrait.

The mintages of the Bactrian kings and of the Indo-Scythian dynasties of the Panjab are also full of interest to the student of ancient mythologies. Greek deities appear on the coins, but much changed from the gods and goddesses as they were known in Greece before their transplantation to Asia, and coins are an unmistakable and indestructible record of a long continued conflict and reaction of religious ideas in India and the neighbouring countries.

Siva, with his bull and trident, is the most familiar figure on the Indo-Scythian pieces, and it is impossible to call him anything but Siva, while it is equally impossible to avoid seeing that he also is a partial expression of the Greek conceptions of Herakles and Poseidon.

The same series of coins exhibits an equally strange mixture of Greek and Persian mythologies, and more than one scholar is now engaged in trying to solve the problem in the history of religion thus suggested.

The presence of legends in clearly executed Greek characters, and in the Greek language on many of the Indo-Scythian coins, is a clear proof that Greek was tolerably familiar to the ruling classes in the Panjab during the first and second centuries of our era. I do not, of course, suppose that Greek was commonly understood, but the use of the Greek language on the Panjab

coins may fairly be compared with the employment of Latin legends on the mintages of Europe

At the seats of foreign trade on the western coast in Guzerat, coins, with corrupt Greek legends, were struck as late as A.D. 400.

The value of old coins to the students of ancient alphabetical characters and linguistic forms is tolerably obvious, but I could not dwell upon it without entering too far into dry technicalities. Perhaps I have said enough to prove, that the riding of the numismatic hobby-horse is not an utterly frivolous amusement ; and to show that every collector of old coins in India has good reason to hope, that he may have the good fortune to make a substantial contribution to the recovery of the lost portions of the history of India.

I will conclude with a quotation, which has already done service.

"La Numismatique est patiente, et elle amasse les faits spéciaux qui la concernent, jusqu'à ce que l'histoire vienne plus tard en donner la véritable clef, si jamais elle le peut."

I hope my readers equal La Numismatique in patience.

V. A. SMITH.

Bengal Civil Service.

9th February 1890.

ART. X.—THE UNCOVENANTED SERVICE.

“ They rose in dark and evil days to right their native land.”

THESE words, with the exception of “ native,” might be applied to many men who, in the dark and evil days of the Mutiny, earned for themselves or their children, by deeds done to save the country, the gratitude of the Government they helped to save. They were glad of their reward naturally, and thus served Government for years in the drudgery of a Deputy Magistrate’s work or that of a Sub-Judge, doing hard and honest work. Some of those men thought they should like to lay their bones at home, or to give their children a better education than can be got from ayahs and bearers. They calculated the cost, and came to the conclusion that a man might live and bring up a family decently on so much per annum, which was the then VALUE of the sum he had earned as a pension. He accordingly quitted the scene of his labour and returned to the old country, making his arrangements according to his income. He had not read the Arabian Night’s possibly, and assuredly did not think that romance governed the policy of the Government he had served, and perhaps fought for. After a time, however, the value of silver went down, and he was paid in silver. He found his income on which he had reckoned on retiring about one-half of its value, and naturally asked how can these things be. He was told that the poor ryot could not be taxed to bring his pension up to *what he had earned*, and that he must quietly sit down and take what he could get and be thankful. He could not rejoin his Service. That was over, and he must simply grin and bear it. This is the position of the Uncovenanted Service now, and only requires stating, I hope, to bring a remedy. If Government had told their servants that they were to be paid in fowls they could have understood their position, they could have watched and probably rigged the fowl market. They were told they were to be paid in the current coin of the Empire. That coin was then worth 2s., and they naturally did not speculate on its going down to $\frac{1}{4}$. If any thing seemed secure, it was the coinage issued from the mint in Calcutta. Now we are told that that coinage is, like the illustration I have given “ fowls,” and is bought and sold, like those useful animals in the market, for what it will fetch. I was induced to enter into this controversy by seeing an Irish paper take up the view, that any concession to the Uncovenanted Service would be a gross injustice to the ratepayer in India.

Now let us consider the subject from the point of view of the ratepayer all over the country, apart from the question of common honesty in the matter of giving a man what he has earned.

It is admitted by every one in this country that the Deputy Magistrate and Subordinate Judges are a most valuable help to the Executive and Judicial Services. They take nearly all the drudgery of the Service. The Deputy Magistrates are, as a rule, in independent charge of Sub-divisions. Why, therefore, should officers doing useful work be compensated with a pension which to-day may be worth two shillings and to-morrow be worth one ; why, in other words, should they be paid in Bazaar produce. Surely the labourer is worthy of his hire. But to take up the "poor ryot" question : where would that ryot have been to-day if it had not been for the heroism of many of the men whose sons got appointments, and very rightly so, for the good service done in the dark and evil days, when European officers held district after district against fearful odds. The old generation has passed away : some of them starving at home by the fact of their income being lessened day by day by the reduction in exchange, but it cannot be forgotten from what class of men the present European Uncovenanted Civilians have sprung ; they are, as a rule, men who have either done good service themselves, or whose fathers have done good service to the Empire,—have, in fact, helped to keep and establish it. They have helped to make the "poor ryot" the prosperous ryot, the man that is better off than any peasantry in the world. They are the men largely instrumental in bringing justice to his door. The ryot himself would be very sorry to see the zemindar's Dewan or Naib substituted for the European Sub-divisional Officer, and the whole argument about the poor Indian ryot, which influences many a vote in the House of Commons, falls to the ground when viewed by men who live and work in the country as we do. It is a question of paying men fixed pensions, or paying them in Bazaar produce, which the rupee is now.

EDITOR.

ART XI.—AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HINDUISM.

I.—Hinduism not a religious organization.

THE popular notion regarding Hinduism is that it is a religious organization, and essentially polytheistic in its character, that is, in other words, that to be a Hindu and to remain a Hindu, a man must subscribe to certain articles of religious beliefs, common to all Hindus, must acknowledge the authority of some books (Vedas and Shastras) and the supremacy of certain interpreters thereof. According to this popular notion, very generally accepted as correct without examination of the grounds thereof, the Hindu is an idolator, and no one who does not worship the myriads of Hindu gods and goddesses, 33 crores in number, is not, and cannot be a Hindu. To a superficial observer the Hindu rises from bed, eats and sleeps, nay is born, marries and dies with religious rites, and it would almost be rank heresy to say that Hinduism is not a religious organization. Yet nothing can be more erroneous than the popular notion on the subject. Hinduism is not, and has never been a religious organization. It is a pure social system insisting on those who are Hindus, the observance of certain social forms, and not the profession of particular religious beliefs. It has not even a religious creed or a common set of beliefs, nor has it for its guide a particular book, though popularly the Vedas and Shastras are credited with being the books of the Hindus. So far as religious beliefs are concerned, Hinduism embraces within its fold all phases of belief and even of unbeliefs, from the extreme agnosticism of the Nastics and Charbaks to the popular polytheistic creed of the believers of the myriads of Hindu gods and goddesses. The Hindu Shastras are, to use a Hindu metaphor, a vast ocean which, so far as religion is concerned, the votary, like the Hindu gods of old, has only to churn to find the nectar of truth, which is exactly suited to the light that is in him. It is perfectly optional with a Hindu to choose from any one of the different religious creeds with which the Shastras abound: he may choose to have a faith and creed if he wants a creed, or to do without one. He may be an athiest, a deist, a monotheist, or a polytheist, a believer in the Vedas or Shastras, or a sceptic as regards their authority, and his position as a Hindu cannot be questioned by any body because of his beliefs or unbeliefs so long as he conforms to social rules. This had been

the case with Hinduism in all ages, and has not been brought about by the so-called transition state we are now supposed to live in. Extreme shades of beliefs are, and have always been met with in the Hindu community, nay, even in every Hindu family. Nothing is more common than to find the deism of the Vedantas, the Vaisnavism of Chaitanya, the Sikhism of Guru Nanuk, the phallic worship of the Shaivas in the same family. The father may be a Vaisnav, the mother a Shaiva or a Shakta, the father's brother a Sikh, and the son a deist. The persecutions of *Proladh* (প্রলাদ) of the legends by his father *Hirnakashyapa*, (হিরণ্যকশ্যপ) for professing a faith differing from that of the father, makes the father even now the object of just execration of all the Hindus. They are all tolerant of each other's faith. The Hindu never quarrels with religious beliefs, and he never enquires into the religious beliefs of his neighbours. Believing as he does that *Mukti* (মুক্তি) is certain to the good and virtuous whatever his creed, he leaves the highest spiritual concerns of a man to the man himself. The *Vijmontra* (বিজমন্ত্র) forming the cardinal article of a man's faith, may not even be uttered to one's father and mother. It is a concern of the individual himself, and throughout his life remains a secret between himself and his religious teacher, (Guru) It is not even necessary for a Hindu to have a Guru (a religious teacher) if he wishes to dispense with one (and outside Bengal the family Guru, as an institution scarcely exists) and his religious beliefs or even unbeliefs are then matters which concern him alone. It is not necessary that the Hindu should attend a church or a religious congregation, and it is certainly optional with him to attend any church or religious congregation,—church service, in the sense in which it is generally understood amongst Christians or Mahomedans, does not exist amongst the Hindus—wherever there is worship; the priest worships but does not lead the worship; believers attend, but do not know or hear the *montras* (মন্ত্র) that the priest addresses to the object of worship.

The fact that Hinduism is not a religious organization makes it the most tolerant system of all systems in the world, and makes it an essentially progressive system. Changes, transitions it has always passed through, and evolved out of them something for its own. It takes in and assimilates, it hates to imitate, but it beautifully incorporates and makes new ideas its own by going onward with the impetus generated by these shocks. The earliest known shock of the kind was that imparted by the Budhists. It was a revolution against the Hinduism of the day, and it brought in new ideas to the spiritual interests of mankind and the prevailing social system in India. It made a progress which has not been achieved

by any other new religious system in India, but it died out, not as is popularly believed, because of Brahminical persecutions, not because Budhists were bodily expelled from India by force by a *Shunker Achargia*, শঙ্কর অচাৰ্য্য, but because the Hindu philosophy had then incorporated with it all that it had to learn from the Budhists, and because at that stage, so far as the social organization was concerned, the Indian Budhists chose to get themselves re-admitted in the Hindu social system. The same has been the case with Jainism, Sikhism, Vaisnavism and the Monotheism of Kabir. The Hindus have incorporated within their system such of the ideas as each of these new religious systems had to impart, and as suited themselves to the genius of the Hindu races and the surrounding circumstances of their position (these are important conditions) and finished off the antagonists by calling them *Apna*, (অপনা) their own. Take for instance, the case of Jainism, the oldest of the last mentioned systems. It is essentially un-Hindu. As a religious system it discards the Vedas and Shastras and does not acknowledge the supremacy of the Brahmins. Even now an orthodox Hindu considers it a sin to visit a temple of *Pareshnath*, (পৰেশনাথ). The Brahmins at one time taught, when Jainism assumed an uncompromising attitude, "better to be trampled under foot by a mad elephant than to enter a Jain temple for protection," and the Brahmins of the Hindus still keep themselves aloof from all sorts of social intercourse with the Jain priests. The remnants of the Jains in India are of the Vaisya caste and, as in social matters, the Jains of the day have forgotten or given up their hostile and unyielding attitude of the past and do not object to the Hindu rituals as regards marriage, the Vaisya Jains fully intermarry and otherwise intermix socially with the Vaisyas of Hindu persuasions. Take again the case of the Sikhs. They have been ever deemed by the Hindus as Hindus. Runjit Sinha, is taken by all the Hindus to have been the last of the great Hindu princes, and it was currently reported that Dhullip Sinha would be welcome back to India as a Sikh and Hindu. The *animus revertendi* to Hinduism is all that is required of a man originally a Hindu, and for those who did not originally belong to the Hindu stock, all that is required is the observance of the current Hindu rites. We have not to go far in illustration of our position. Not to refer to the Maimon of the Bombay Presidency, whose position oscillates between Mahomedanism and Hinduism, and whose position it was proposed to determine by an Act of the Supreme Legislature, we may mention the various hill tribes who have joined Hinduism almost within the memory of man. We have said that for one who did not originally belong to the Hindu stock, all that is

required is the observance of the current Hindu rites. We use the word current studiously. We will show hereafter how the rites themselves change with the changes of times. It is not, again, that the new convert as a rule is relegated to the lower stratum of Hindu society. Instances prevail in which, according to the exigencies of the case, the position that has been assigned to the convert has been very high. Witness for instance the position of the *Gyals*, (গয়াল) of Gya, originally Budhistic priests, the Sakaldipi (Singalese) Brahmins, and the Vaisnava Gosains, some of whom in Bengal belong to the *Vidya*, (বৈদ্য), (medical caste). Its power of assimilation physical and moral gives Hinduism a lease of life which has been the wonder of the world in the past, and which will be its wonder for all time to come unless it correctly understands the Hindu system. That system is essentially an eclectic system, so far as religious beliefs are concerned, and, as we intend to show in a subsequent part of this discussion, in all social matters also. The instances cited above illustrate, we hope, in a marked degree, the position with which we set out, that Hinduism is not a religious organization. The Jains, Sikhs, Vaisnavas, Kaberpanthis, are to all intents and purposes Hindus, though the religious creed of each and all, specially that of the Jains and Sikhs, are essentially un-Vedic in origin, and the professors of these religions, though recognised by the other Hindus as Hindus, do not believe in the authority of the Vedas and Shastras, do not worship the Hindu gods and goddesses, nor acknowledge the supremacy of the Brahmins. If, then, Hinduism is not a religious organization, and the Hindu has the option of choosing for his faith anything from the extreme point of unbelief to belief in a myriad of gods and goddesses, discarding Vedas, Shastras and Brahminical supremacy, what then is it? We will answer the question in the next part of the article.

II.—*What is Hinduism ?*

What is Hinduism? The reply is, that what the Hindus or the major portion of them in a Hindu community do is Hinduism. This may appear to be a truism, but it is a truism the truth of which ought however to be enforced. People, both within and without, discuss the subject as if Hinduism was locked up in some sacred books. The Vedas, the Shastras, the Smrities are regarded as books furnishing guides for the conduct of a Hindu's life, and researches are made in the Vedas, and Shastras to understand what Hinduism is. Yet it is a fact, and a fact which cannot be gainsaid, that Hinduism of the Vedas, nay, of the Shastras, is not the Hinduism of the present day. To even the most superficial reader of the Vedas and Shastras it will appear, that changes in almost all the departments of the

Hindu's life have been going on from age to age. It is not the scope of this paper to enumerate all these changes, but simply for the illustration of the definition of Hinduism given above, to indicate that such changes have taken place and even now are taking place. What the Hindus in a Hindu community did, when recorded, became the Vedas of old; what they did at a later age became, when recorded, the Hinduism of the Shastras, and the Shastras that will record the changes of the present day, when these changes we see around us are accepted as accomplished facts, will be the Hinduism of the day. The Shastrakar (compiler) of the Shastras of our future, will perhaps, when justifying the departure from the Shastras of the mediæval ages, and from practices then only existing in the memory of man, appeal to some text of the Veda or of Manu as a sanction for such departure, perhaps twist the grammatical construction, and interpret a synonym in the light of his own views. Like *Jimut-Vahana* (জিমুদ বাহন) of old and revered memory, he will possibly disclaim all opposing views as monstrous and un-Hindu. In this, as we suppose in all social systems, practice precedes theories and codes, and practice is accepted as an accomplished fact when it is carried on by the majority, and very shortly after as part and parcel of the system when it becomes the universal practice. We shall illustrate this by giving a few instances within our own memory. Thirty years ago a Hindu of Bengal (perhaps, of Calcutta excepted) would not be a Hindu, if he were to use onions as a condiment to his dishes, or to take a loaf, or a piece of biscuit; now onions, loaves, and biscuits are no longer prohibited articles of food in many parts of Bengal. Butcher's meat is another instance of departure. No one now regards the practice of taking butcher's meat as un-Hindu, though many people in Bengal yet scruple to use meat from a butcher's stall. The use of butcher's meat has never been considered un-Hindu in Behar and the other Provinces. Fowls and chickens may be yet regarded as prohibited articles of food in Bengal, but the strong minority who now enjoy dishes of fowl cutlets, soups, roasts and curries are gaining ground, and will soon become the strong majority, and fowls and chickens will ten years hence, if not in five, come to be Hindu articles of food in Bengal. The Bengali Shastrakar will not have much difficulty in justifying the departure here, as fowls and chickens are not prohibited articles of food in that country of the Hindus, the Maharastra. The caste system even now overlooks taking food cooked by people of an inferior caste or with them, or even with Mlechas or Mahomedans. So you can do several things now admittedly un-Hindu without let or

hindrance, so long as you do not obtrude your un-Hindu practices ostentatiously to the notice of the community you live in. Changes are thus daily growing, and when the changes suit the genius of the people, they take root and become parts and parcels of Hinduism. This is not simply in matters of articles of food, but in everything around us. Only the stereotyped character, which for good or evil, the Smrities, or that portion of it which is known as the Hindu law in our Courts, has received, by the advent of British government in this country, is calculated to maintain it where it was. The changes in the Smrities themselves, a complete record of which can be easily marked in the controversial portion of the learned codes of Hindu laws, serve to illustrate the position taken above to a very great extent. Take for instance the change, the reform under which the Brahmins came to be subjected to the jurisdiction of the King's Courts, or the Ilbert Reform in the laws of Ancient India. The text of Goutoma provided that "the king is superior to all except Brahmins." The Mitakshara says: "that from the text of Goutoma it must not be inferred that Brahmins are exempted from amercement, for the text is intended for the purpose of generally extolling the Brahminical tribe. It is ordained in the Sutra, "six things are to be avoided by the king" (acting with respect to Brahmins), "the punishment of flagellation, of imprisonment, of amercement, of banishment, of reprimand and of expulsion." The author of Mitakshara naively says: "the mere order of priesthood is "not sufficient to exempt. That the Brahmins in the text "mean persons eminently learned, skilled in worldly affairs, "in the Vedas and Vedangas, intuitively wise, well stored "with tradition and historical wisdom, continually revolving "these subjects in his mind, conforming to them in practice, "instructed in the forty-eight ceremonies, devoted to the "observance of three-fold and six-fold duties, and versed in "legal usages and established rules," or, in other words, such persons from whom the commission of an offence or a wrong, or the infraction of a right was impossible. Thus between the age of Goutoma and that of Vijaneshara a great change, affecting the privileges of a special class, must have been slowly and gradually effected, and the Hinduism which Goutoma observed and recorded as rules for the guidance of Hindu kings as regards Brahminical privileges, was not the Hinduism which Vijaneshara found extant in his days and justified in his learned disquisition.

Another reform in the Hindu law effected during that period, traces of which are clearly discernible in the disquisition of Vijaneshara, was almost in the same direction—the encroachment on Brahminical privileges as it existed of old. The

ancient doctrine was that the *Sabha sada* সভাসদ (assessors) of the King's Courts were to be Brahmins. The text was "a king who investigates together with the chief judge, ministers, domestic priests *and* assessors at the Court according to laws, shall attain paradise;" another text enjoined that the persons appointed as assessors "*(Sabha sads)* were to be versed in literature (*i. e.,*) in the study of philosophy, grammar, &c., and in comprehending the Vedas, acquainted with the laws (*i. e.,*) familiar with the sacred code of laws, addicted to truth (*i. e.,*) prone to habitual veracity, impartial towards friends and foes, that is, divested of enmity, affection, partiality and prejudice." The earlier commentor, Catyana, reads the text "persons versed in literature, &c.," setting forth the qualifications of persons to be confined to the Brahminical tribe, but the author of Mitakshara commenting on the first of these texts remarks, that the use of the conjunction 'and,' between the words 'priest' and 'assessors,' evidently propounds a distinction between Brahmins, (priests) and assessors. The author, as an additional argument for the interpretation he adopts, says, that for the sake of adding popular confidence to the assembly (King's Council) some persons of the commercial class should also be called in to assist. But the most important change in this direction was with reference to the appointment of Chief Judge (Pradirvak) the text expressly enjoined the appointment of a Brahmin. It says, "A Brahmin acquainted with all duties should be appointed and associated with the assessors, by a king who is unable, through want of leisure, to investigate judicial proceedings;" the author of Mitakshara observes that, if such a Brahmin cannot be found the king may appoint a *Khatrya* (ক্ষত্রী) or *Vaisya* (বৈশ্য). It is singular how a turn in the grammatical construction of a text, which however was deemed sacred and unalterable, did duty for a change in the law, but no grammarians ever thought of giving this turn, until he saw that the changed interpretation was necessitated by the changes which he saw all around. Between the age of Catyana and the age of Vijaneshara, the author of Mitakshara, said to have been the contemporary of Sankara Acharjia, who is generally credited with the expulsion of Budhists from India, several centuries had elapsed, and India had witnessed a stupendous revolution, and Hinduism of the day of Catyana, not in this respect alone, for which we have proofs, but in several other respects, for which the proofs and records are not so clear, was not the Hinduism of the date of Mitakshara. We will see how the changes were brought about. There were no Legislative Councils in Ancient India, and no one in authority who could make or unmake laws. The current theory that Brahmins were lawgivers of

the land, does not find any support from the record of the Hindu laws. Even the authors of the codes appeal to the past and the text writers of the past, for the sanction of what they do enjoin. Their only authority is derived from the correctness with which they interpret the present in the light of the past. Anything that would not accord with the existing facts would, we suppose, carry as much weight with Hindus of their days as the *Nava Sanhita* of the late Babu Keshub Chandra Sen does with the Hindus of the present day. The growth of Hindu laws was something like the growth of the common laws in England, with this difference, that the Hindu laws did comprise a greater variety of subjects affecting the ordinary daily life of a Hindu than the common laws of England did with respect to Englishmen. Both have their origin in the growth of usages, their recognition in courts of law, or, as in the case of Hindus, in the assemblies of tribes, and their final codification by learned men; but, as in India the codifiers (at least the authors of extant treatises) happened to be Brahmins, it is generally assumed that Brahmins were the legislators of the land. Hindu laws, therefore, are Hindu usages codified. Usages again originated in the doings of the Hindus, and when a new usage sprung up to take the place of the old, we may be sure that at the start some one had the boldness to break through the barrier of an established usage, and was branded as the breaker of the laws, until the change he adopted, or sought to introduce, was generally accepted, and it took the place of the established usage. Take for instance, again, the changes that took place between the age of Vijaneshara and the age of Jimut Vahana. In Bengal the joint family system had received a rude shock; and it was no longer the patriarchal system of old that prevailed, but the first splitting of families into individual units. Jimut Vahana in his time finds the change accomplished, and establishes the changes as laws, by refuting Metakshara, and appealing to the past and the text writers of the past; and, as an additional argument, establishes the doctrine of *factum valet*. This doctrine of *factum valet* prevails throughout India; if not in what are ordinarily called the schools of laws, but in every other department of a Hindu's life. The flexibility of this beautiful doctrine enables the Hindu to alter his manners, his customs, his laws, nay, even his religion to the altered spirit of the age in which he lives. Their surroundings, their education, their circumstances, the infusion of new ideas have always influenced the doings of the Hindus, and the Hinduism of every period. The Bengal Brahmins, even of the age of Ballal Sen, appear to have been as unlike their original stock at Kanouj, as Mr. Banerji returned from

England is from the ordinary Bengali Brahmins of the present date, yet the Kanouj Brahmins never question the Brahminical rank of their caste men in Bengal ; both are Hindus, but the Hinduism of the Kanouj Brahmins is not the Hinduism of the Brahmins of Bengal ; and this brings us to our definition of Hinduism once again.

This definition which we have tried to show, accords with established facts in Hindu laws, is that *what the Hindus, or the major portion of them in a Hindu community do, is Hinduism*. A few words of explanation seem necessary. It is not Hinduism now to go England, because the few Hindus who go to England are kept out of caste ; but supposing in a Hindu community, the Hindus could go to England without losing caste, or supposing even, a strong majority of that community would allow a Hindu who had been to England, to be again admitted into caste, going to England would be no longer an un-Hindu practice, so far as that community is concerned. A Hindu whatever may be the transgressions from Hindu manners he may be guilty of, remains a Hindu so long as he does not lose caste. If he has a Dal (party), in the community he lives, he is a Hindu to all intents and purposes. This community is not the whole body of Hindus, nor all the people of his caste, but a small village circle of people consisting, amongst the higher classes of Brahmins, Vaidyas and Kayestas in Bengal. This small circle, which usually consists of 300 or 400 families interspersed in two or three neighbouring villages, is called a *Somaj*, and the people *Somajiks*. In marriages and *shradhs*, for those who can afford these are the guests who have to be entertained. If in case of any transgressions from caste rules, the *Somajiks* do not find any fault with the transgressor, the latter does not lose caste ; if some of the *Somajiks* have their scruples, but others have not, they divide themselves into parties called *dals* or *Daladolis*. Nothing is commoner than to find in many villages in Bengal, the *Somajiks* split into different factions (*dals*) over a transgression from an established usage of which some in the *Somaj* had been guilty, until the question is finally decided by numbers. If the dal (party) of the breaker of established usage is strong, the change is as good as accomplished, the contending factions uniting again in time. There are in the same *Somaj*, or in the same body of *Somajiks*, nay, even in the same families, men of different views—Conservatives, Liberals, and Radicals. The too latter at the present day are the product of English education and the onward influences around. Toleration is the order of the day, and the Conservatives, however they may lament the good old days, cannot help being tolerant, because of the prevalence of liberal ideas, even amongst the younger generation of their own families, or because, as in

many cases, when education has made progress and placed the Liberals in any number in commanding positions, they have to give way to the inevitable.

Much shrewdness, intelligence and tact are required of a leader of a dal (party), and as reformatations to permeate the masses must begin here, in these units of Hindu communities, a practical reformer can safely carry out many desired reforms by correctly feeling the pulse of his *Somajiks*. The wise politicians feel the pulse of the nation, the social reformer in Bengal, if he is practical, should feel the pulse of the *Somajiks*. Many a reformer in India have spoiled the cause they advocated, by striving to carry out reforms for which the *Somajiks* were not prepared ; by, in fact, giving too much speed to their Radical coach. Many a reformer—and in India reformers are not reformers, if they are not religious reformers,—have unfortunately marred the cause of reform by treating social reforms as if they were religious reforms. The popular notion is that Hinduism is a complex system, where social usages cannot be separated from religious beliefs. Our reformers cannot rise above this popular notion. They would not separate the domain of beliefs in the supernatural and metaphysical from the every day common life of man. To them social reforms are not questions of expediency, but cases of conscience. It would be a sin, they say, that knowing early marriages to be mischievous, or, as they call it, wrong, you were to get your children married at an early age. It would be rank hypocrisy, they say, that, believing in the equality of men, and knowing that the caste system as it prevails, is not the right thing in all its phases, you were still to be within the pale of caste and not to give it a kick. It would be the height of dissimulation, they say, that not believing or caring for the 33 crores of Hindu gods and goddesses, you were still to pass off as a Hindu. Your life would be a life of contradictions, they say, that if while dining on fowl cutlets and mutton chops of an evening, you would sit to supper with your caste men at night at *Pungti Bhojan* পুন্ডিভোজন The Liberal Indian pleads guilty to no such charge. In social matters, he believes that what is expedient is right. It would not be right or expedient in his opinion to wage a hopeless war. It would not be expedient to thrust reforms all at once into the old Hindu systems. The wholesale reform of the Brahmo Somaj is too much for the Hindus, and the result has been that the Brahmoes have to form themselves into a separate community. If these earnest workers had but contented themselves to work from within instead of spending their earnestness in uselessly trying to demolish the citadal of prejudices from without, what further changes might not have come on by this time.

The true Liberal Indian on the contrary would, for good or evil, stick to the Hindu system, and fight out the cause of reform from within. He knows, or tries to know, how far education has prepared his *Somajiks* for a desired reform, how far the onward influences have been acting on them, and tentatively introduces, or tries to introduce it in the community he lives. There is a struggle nevertheless, but it is the fight of parties, the *daladali* दलदली of the *Somajiks*, and not a fight where the reformer has to go out of the field fearless and undaunted no doubt, but nevertheless without achieving a victory. To the cautious general, the victory is certain. The educated natives are now, in many parts of the country, the leaders of the *Somajiks*, and the spread of education gives them a large and larger share of influence year by year. They are not true to their colors, if knowing or believing that the country is prepared for a reform, they do not give an onward pull. They have no need for preaching and for preachers. Their only agency is the educational movement in the country. The reforms thus introduced are introduced with the consensus of the people. They take root and permeate the social fabric as a whole, and very soon become parts and parcels of the Hinduism of the time. In the next paper we will examine what reforms have been already introduced, and what further progress in these directions are possible.

(To be continued.)

GURU PROSHAD SEN.

ART. XII.—THE DOOM OF TURKEY.*

IN the period known to European students of history as the Dark Ages, religion was the dominant factor in politics, the object of the conflicts of the nations, and the principle which actuated the perpetual rivalry between the peoples of Europe and of Asia, the empires of the West and of the East. The Pope was acknowledged as the arbiter of international disputes by the Sovereigns of Europe, and the Khalifa was saluted as Spiritual Head by all the various races that had embraced Islam. Religion precipitated the Arab swarms upon the Christian provinces of the Roman Empire, and impelled the crusading hosts to the recovery of the Holy Land of Palestine from the hands of misbelievers. The question whether the succession to a European crown should devolve on a Catholic or a Protestant, or a Mediterranean island fortress hoist the banner of the crescent or of the cross upon its towers, occupied the energies and stirred the sympathies of the whole civilized or semi-civilized world.

Among Christian nations this motive for political movement has now ceased to be. Except for a few fanatics who believe in the restoration of the Temporal Power, and for the most ignorant sections of society, such as the peasantry in Russia and in Ireland, and the Mormons in America, religion has ceased to be a power in political life. The battle-field of polemics is now happily restricted to the next world. The diffusion of education, the reform of Christianity, and the spread of Rationalism have all had a share in this desirable revolution. Among civilized nations, dynastic ambitions and race antipathies, commercial and colonial rivalries, still disturb peace and foment discord ; but religious fanaticism no longer adds fuel to the flames.

But in the East the Moslem world has not shared in the emancipation of politics from the thralldom of religious ideas. "Al Míl k w'ad Dín Tawámán " says the Arabic proverb ; "The State and the Church are twins." The theocratic idea still pervades the polity of Islam. Power is regarded as divine and earthly rulers are only the delegates of the All-Powerful. The government of the universe by Allah is an autocratic model, to be reproduced as faithfully as human

* Turkey : by Stanley Lane-Poole, assisted by J. W. Gibb and Arthur Gilman. London. T. Fisher Unwin, 26, Paternoster Square. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1888.

imperfections will allow, in the governments of the earth. The world is sharply divided into two parts: Dar ul Islam, peopled by those who have submitted to God: and Dar ul Harb, the Land of War, peopled by rebels against Him, and contemners of His authority. Religion, among Musalman statesmen, still holds the place occupied in others by patriotism or ambition. The Dervishes set out from the Soudan to face British bullets and bayonets on the frontiers of Egypt, with the serious intention of converting the whole world to the true Faith.

Hence arises the most difficult political problem of the present day, usually called "The Eastern Question:" which is in fact, the disintegration of the political system of the Musalman world under the increasing pressure of Western and European civilization. The familiar phrase is generally applied to the political state of things arising out of the gradual dissolution of the Turkish Empire in Europe; but it is evident that the same state of affairs exists everywhere the countries of Islam are brought into contact with European Powers. England in India; France in North Africa; Russia in Central Asia are all quietly but persistently, by their civilizing influences, sapping the temporal power of Islam, and abrogating the political influence of the great religion which has for more than a thousand years governed the political ideas of so large a proportion of the human race, and influenced the destinies of so great a portion of the surface of our globe. An epitome of this great question is, indeed, to be found in the relations of the greatest and acknowledged chief state of the Muhammadan world with the civilized Powers of Europe. The historian Von Ranke in his work on Bosnia written half a century ago, clearly indicated the cause of the existence of the Eastern Question. He wrote:—

"If we enquire into the causes of the internal decline of the Turkish Empire, and regard them under their most general manifestation, we must affirm that it is owing to the fact, that the Empire is opposed to another section of the world immeasurably superior to itself in power. That other section could crush it to atoms in a moment; and while suffering it to exist for reasons of its own, yet, by a secret necessity, it exerts upon it an indirect and irresistible influence."

This influence has, in our own day, made the Turkish Court an arena for the political contests of rival European Powers, and of the Sultan's supremacy, a stalking horse for use in the squabbles of political parties in the English Parliament. It has invested the fortunes of Turkey in the eyes of Englishmen with an interest that they never possessed when the Ottomans were at the zenith of their power; when they perennially menaced the peace of Europe, when Turkish armies appeared on the frontiers of Germany, and Turkish pirates cruised in the English Channel.

The book before us is the thirteenth volume of the series called "The Story of the Nations," published by Messrs. Fisher Unwin. It is a rough sketch of the history of the Ottoman Turks for the six hundred years that they have had a national existence, written with the ability and lucidity to be expected from the author, and containing separate chapters on Ottoman literature and Ottoman administration. It is the best book on the subject that has appeared in England since Knolles completed his picturesque and voluminous account of the Wars of the Ottomans down to his own time in the reign of King Charles the First. Prince Cantemir's History, translated into English in the reign of King George the First, can only be relied upon as far as the writer was an eye-witness of the events which he describes: the early part of the history is both imperfect and incorrect. Sir Edward Creasy's History of the Ottoman Turks, taken from the materials of Von Hammer, is mainly correct in details; but the writer utterly failed to grasp the spirit of the Turkish nation, or to apprehend the springs of action which governed its political movements. He was one of many Englishmen who fondly imagined, that the introduction of the physical and mechanical forms of civilization was all that was required to place the Turks on a level with the foremost European nations, and his complacent prophecies of the regeneration of Turkey as an enlightened and progressive nation, forming an insuperable barrier to the baffled ambition of Russia, look absurd enough by the light of recent events. Lord Palmerston who stoutly maintained the principle of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire from motives of policy, formed a juster estimate of the capacity of the Turks when he exclaimed, "What can you expect from a people that always go about with their shoes down at heel?"

The first ten chapters of Stanley Lane-Poole's book are occupied by the account of the romantic and wonderful rise of the Ottoman nation and power under the reigns of the first ten Sultans of the House of Othman, till the culmination of their glories in the person of Suliman the Magnificent, called by the Turks, Sahib Keran, or Lord of the Age, a title used to distinguish world-sovereigns like Alexander and Timur. The Imperial House of Othman is a rare instance of the long duration of an Oriental dynasty, usually so short lived. It has descended in the male line in unbroken succession from Kará Othman, the son of Ertsgul, through thirty-three reigns and twenty-one generations, to His Majesty Abdul Hamíd Khan the Second, the present Sultan and the thirty-fourth of his illustrious line. The attachment of the Ottoman Turks to the family of the founder of their nation, has had much to do with the unusual stability of their dominion; and it is

probable that the Empire would have shared in the fate of the dynasty, when the latter was perilously near extinction in the person of the infant Mahmud the Second, who was the sole survivor of his family for many years at the commencement of the present century. In fact the fortunes of the nation have followed those of the dynasty in a remarkable manner. It is now just six hundred years since Othman first founded the Turkish sovereignty in Bithynia: and this period of six centuries may be roughly divided into three epochs of almost equal length, during which the Ottoman Power was growing, stationary, and declining. In two hundred years or little more, from the capture of Brussa by Othman Khan in A. D. 1326, until the death of the great Sultan Sulimán at the siege of Sigeth in A. D. 1566, the Turkish dominions had spread from a petty district in Analolia over a great part of three continents; from Baghdad in the East to Buda in the West; and from the steppes of the Ukraine to the deserts of Libya. The Black Sea was a Turkish lake, and Turkish corsairs made their lair in Sallee on the shores of the Atlantic. From the death of Suliman to the siege of Vienna by the grand Vazir Kará Mustafá in 1673, the Turks had only increased their possessions by the conquest of Cyprus and Crete from the Venetians, and a few fortresses and frontier towns from the Germans and Poles: and in the year 1699, after a disastrous war which had lasted sixteen years, they, for the first time, had to yield ground to their Christian foes, giving up Hungary and Transylvania to Austria; Dalmatia to Venice; Podolia and Kaminiec to Poland, and Azoph to Russia. From that time the decline has been steady, and the Sultan has, bit by bit, lost nearly all his territories both in Europe and in Africa and some in Asia, and is still threatened with the loss of more. It is difficult to account for the sudden and abrupt cessation of the rapid and continuous march of Turkish conquest, but it undoubtedly curiously coincided with the equally sudden and complete change in the character of their monarchs. With the single exception of Sultan Báýázid the Second, deposed by his son Selim the Grim, the first ten Sultans were all strong rulers and brave soldiers, who habitually led their armies to the field, and presided in the Council of their Vazirs. The last twenty-four, with the exception of the drunken tyrant Murad the Terrible, and the reformer Mahmud the Second, were feeble as sovereigns and insignificant as men. Four of them only shewed their incapacity in the field, and it is now very nearly two hundred years since a Turkish Sultan has faced an enemy. Nine out of the twenty-four were deposed by their mutinous troops or rebellious subjects, and six out of these nine were murdered.

Some writers attribute the change in the character of the Ottoman sovereigns to a change in the method of educating them. The young Princes were at first brought up in the camps among the soldiery, and were invested with the government of provinces: and as too often happens in an Oriental monarchy, the doubtful succession was decided by a civil war, or at best by a military pronunciamiento. To obviate these evils the royal Princes from the time of Selim the Second, surnamed the Sot, were brought up in the seclusion of the seraglio, as they still are; and they have amply justified the expectations that might have been formed of such an education. Moreover, the civil conflicts between rival brothers were now succeeded by hideous wholesale butcheries in the haram on every fresh accession: and our author's admission that nineteen of the hundred and two children of Sultan Murad the Third were put to death on the accession of their brother Muhammad the Third, must surely be a printer's error for ninety.

Another reason of the decline of the Ottoman Power was the decay and corruption of the efficient military organization which may be said to have been the principal agent in its first signal success and rapid aggrandisement. The foundation of Ottoman greatness was laid, and its stability ensured by the standing army raised and organized by Sultan Orkhan, the son of Othman, and his devoted brother and able Vazir, Ala-ud-Din.

The cavalry were divided into squadrons, and the infantry into companies. They had a regular and sufficient establishment of officers, promoted by seniority, and sometimes by selection: they wore a distinguishing dress, received pay and rations from the Sultan, and were lodged in barracks when not under canvas. They were not allowed to marry. They formed a solid nucleus for the rest of the nation in arms, and a firm support to the monarchy, with which their own existence was bound up. Nothing like the Ottoman military system has ever existed in any other Asiatic nation. The Suffavi Shahs of Persia attempted to imitate it without success. It was afterwards closely copied in the standing armies of Europe. It is surprising that our author should not have added a separate chapter on the Turkish army to his work, since he has given us one upon the Ottoman civil administration, which was a matter of quite secondary importance. The Ottoman nation was then what Germany has become in our own time,—a nation in arms. Every Turk was a soldier, and served in an army of which the Sultan was *ex officio* Commander-in Chief.

The whole land of the Empire was divided into Sanjaks (standards) which again were sub-divided into estates or

fiefs, large ones called Ziamats, and smaller ones, supporting a single yeoman, called Timars. The Sanjak Beg commanded a squadron composed of all the fief-holders in his district, who found their own horses and arms. The Begler Beg, or General of the Province, kept an office in which were the registers of all the Sanjaks and their fiefs. This system produced an enormous force of cavalry which formed the bulk of the Ottoman army. They received no pay, holding their land on condition of serving in the wars for six months in each year. There were besides the Akinji, horsemen who had no land, and who served for plunder only. Then there were the paid troops; six regiments of cavalry, mostly Turks; and the infantry (Janissaries), artillery and ordnance corps (Topjis and Jabajis) and Lavands or marines. These were originally Christian captives or conscripts converted to Islam when boys, and trained to strict discipline and martial exercises. The refuse of the nation served as irregular infantry (Azab) or as pioneers or miners; the Turkish military muster-rolls of the time of Sultan Muhammed the conqueror of Constantinople are incomplete, but from what remains of them, we might estimate the whole force, putting it at the lowest figure, as amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand men, of whom thirty thousand were regular troops. In the reign of Sultan Muhammed the Fourth, at the time of the last siege of Vienna, the regular troops alone are shewn by their muster-rolls at the figure of ninety-two thousand men, of whom seventy thousand were Janissaries (infantry).

This powerful standing army, as so often has happened with Pretorian bands in the East, like the Turkish guards of the Abbaside Khalfis, the Mamelukes in Egypt and others, took the reins into its own hands, deposed and set up the Sultans, murdered Ministers who had made themselves obnoxious by severity or economy, and replaced them by others who were more likely to truckle to its turbulence, and to pander to its avarice. From the time of the death of the great Sultan Suliman to the beginning of the present century, it dominates the politics of the Porte and fills the stage of the Ottoman Empire. Gradually losing its martial character, it at last became more of a political than a military institution, and it was not finally suppressed until it had brought the Empire to the verge of ruin. The Sultans had, like Frankenstein, raised a power which they could not control, and the formidable army, which was the chief instrument of Ottoman ascendancy, became, with its discipline decayed and its license unchecked, the principal obstacle to the reform of the institutions which it had ceased to support or to defend.

It is certainly remarkable how completely the Ottoman

nation has, in the present day, departed from its ancient military traditions and lost its old martial spirit. From the time of the great Suliman to the present day, it would be difficult to point to a single Turkish Commander who might be classed even as a respectable tactician or strategist. Ghazi Hasan is the only one we can think of; and his excellence principally consisted in a thorough knowledge of the quality of his own troops, and how to get the most out of them. In former days the Turks only pride was in arms and valour: now, from the Sultan downwards, the whole nation is not only ignorant of, but absolutely indifferent to military matters. The long course of defeats and humiliations which, for two centuries they have suffered at the hands of the Christian Powers, have perhaps disgusted them with war, and led them to exclaim, as Sultan Mustafa's men did after his defeat by Prince Eugene at Zenta, that "Allah Himself fights on the side of the Giaurs."

A third cause of the check to the advance of Turkish conquest and the expansion of the Empire, seems to have been the cessation of the growth of the population. We find, as the career of Turkish conquest progresses, the Turks at first advance along with it: when Bulgaria and Servia and Hungary and Greece are conquered, the lands are parcelled out among the Sipahis of the victorious armies, and Turkish garrisons colonise the towns. But when the Vazir Ahmad Kuprili conquered and annexed the districts of Neuhausel and Varasdin from Austria in the seventeenth century, there were no Turks to colonise them. The tide had turned. The unnaturally rapid expansion of the national force had already reached its utmost limits, and the Turkish population now seems to be accompanying the decline of the State. Lamartine said fifty years ago, that the Turkish Empire was perishing for want of Turks. Some writers have attributed the decrease of population to the bad government which causes a large proportion of the soil to be left untilled: others to the baneful influence of polygamy which fills the harems of the rich with the slaves of pleasure, and leaves the poorer classes without wives. This evil was not felt as long as an abundant supply of women was kept up by Christian prisoners taken in war. We read of a hundred thousand women being swept up from Hungary and the adjacent provinces in a single campaign. The Tartars of the Crimea kept the Constantinople market supplied with "white Russian girls." The Ottoman nation was not only provided with women from the subject and neighbouring Christian nations, but was largely recruited with men. The body-guards and pages of the imperial seraglio, the Janissaries and other regular bodies of

troops, were replenished by means of levies of the finest and stoutest boys from the Slavonic, Bulgarian, Greek and Armenian subjects of the Sultan. Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole says, that "for three centuries, every year a thousand Christian children were thus devoted to the service of the Ottoman Power," but the levy was not made every year, but generally every seven years, when enough lads were collected to fill the vacancies in the corps for some time to come. These boys were kept in companies by themselves and instructed in Islam, and drafted into the ranks of the troops as required. But they all eventually became Turks, and on superannuation, married and brought up families of Turkish children. The ranks of the nation were also recruited by many other renegades: Greek and Slaves who turned Turk to share in the fortunes and spoils of the victorious conquerors, and the Christian captives of war who apostatised to escape the horrors of Turkish slavery, the chain-gang in the arsenal, or the row-bench of the galleys. Many of the most famous Turkish Commanders were from among these renegades. Jaghálázáda was the son of the Genoese Count Cicola by a captured Turkish woman, and himself taken by a Turkish cruiser, forsook his Christian country and kindred to adopt the nation and religion of his mother. The brothers Barbarossa were Greek renegades; the successful admirals Piali and Kilij Ali were Italians. It is easy to understand why so many European renegades rose to positions of command and offices of trust in the Ottoman Empire and the Barbary States, and how the brave but stupid Turk profited by the infusion of Aryan blood into the national veins.

The seraglio, or imperial palace was filled with the sons of Christians. There were five chambers of pages, the Khás Oda (royal chamber) the Khazina Oda, (treasury chamber), the Kilar Oda, (buttery chamber) and the Safar Oda (travelling chamber). Not one of the members of these four chambers was a Turk. They were all Christian boys taken in war, kidnapped by corsairs, or sent as tribute by vassal Wallachian or Georgian Princes. Our author says, descanting on the decay of Imperial Ottoman grandeur—

"The seraglio system, indeed, by its very nature could not last; all the races of the earth were not created simply to furnish slaves or toys to gratify the whims of a Grand Signior; and even if no Sultan Mahmud had abolished them, the four chambers must have passed away or been altogether changed from sheer lack of a legitimate supply of white men. The Sultans would have to recruit their ranks with members of their own race, and the moment this was done, their old boasted isolation was at an end."

It is difficult to discover the real reason for the abandonment of the tribute of boy recruits from the Christian families. It never appears to have been formally renounced, but the last time it was levied was in 1638, when the Sagbán Báshi of the

Janissaries, Dervish Agha, was executed by Sultan Murad on account of complaints made to the Sultan of the manner in which he had carried out the recruitment. The fact seems to be that the Turks themselves were so eager to enlist, that the ranks were easily filled with volunteers: but no doubt the discontinuance of the "devilish system" of Orkhan and Ala-ud-Din, deprived the Turkish nation and army of what had been a very important addition to its strength, and threw it back entirely upon its own resources. Another reason of the sudden check experienced by the Turks in their career of conquest, was the more stubborn resistance offered to them in their advance by the civilized nations of the West. They had easily overthrown the already tottering Byzantine Empire of the East, and had overrun the Southern Slavonic kingdoms after a severer struggle: but it taxed all the resources of the Ottoman Empire to force the Knights of St. John from Rhodes, and the Ottoman advance was now confronted by the fleets and armies of Spain, Venice and Germany. The mighty hosts of the great Sultan Suliman were repulsed from the ramparts of Vienna and Valetta. Even had his successors been as able as himself, and his military system been maintained intact, it is not probable that the Turks would have been enabled to effect a further lodgement in Europe.

Later on we find them engaged in incessant efforts, during a war of twenty-four years, to wrest the island of Crete from the Venetians alone, and suffering crushing defeats from the Germans and the Poles in the field in spite of the numerical superiority of their own armies. Even had the Ottoman nation retained its pristine vigour, the Turks could never have conquered Germany or France as they conquered Servia and Hungary.

But the various causes of the decline of the Ottoman power were long at work before their effects were suspected or noticed by the Turks themselves. During the whole of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Ottomans were hugging themselves in the delusion that their Empire was the greatest, and their monarch the mightiest and wealthiest in the world, and were fondly expecting the eventual conquest of Christendom. God was still on their side, and will never suffer a city or country where the Azan had been proclaimed from a Musalman mosque to fall again into the hands of unbelievers. Like the great Mogul Empire in India, to which in many respects it affords a singular parallel, the Ottoman Empire long presented an outward appearance of majesty and splendour even while it was fast hastening to decay. European nations spoke of its Sultan as the Grand Turk, the Grand Signior; while to his myriad subjects he was the Padishah

(Emperor), the Kaisar of Rúm (the Cæsar of Turkey), the legitimate successor of the Eastern Emperors, the inheritor of the World Empire of the Romans, the heir to the dignity and power of the Khalifas of Islám.

The East and the West were to be united under the sceptre of the house of Othmán, throned in the Imperial City of Istambol, fondly called by some Islambol, situated between the two continents and the two seas, (barein wa bahrein) like a priceless diamond of the ring of sovereignty set between two emeralds and two sapphires, as it appeared to Othmán Khán in his marvellous and prophetic dream.

And the Sultan dwelt in the halls of the Cæsars with a pomp and magnificence befitting the fame of his predecessors and the splendour of his destiny. The capacity for organization which was so strongly developed in their military system, and which so greatly distinguished the Ottoman administration from all other Oriental governments, was still more strongly marked in the establishments of the Imperial Court. Mr. Lane-Poole has given a full description of the old seraglio, as the Europeans called the Sarai or palace built upon the promontory running out into the sea between the Bosphorus on one side and the Golden Horn upon the other. Surrounded by ramparts and guarded by cannon, its vast extent comprised a city within itself. It was divided into four separate quarters, each walled off from the other and accessible only through a guarded gate. The entrance into the first and outermost of these lay through the great gateway known as the Báb-i-Humáyan, called by the Europeans the Sublime Porte, which was guarded by Janissaries. In this quarter were the palace stables and mews, public and military offices, and quarters for soldiers and servants, built round a large square or exercise ground, through which was the entrance gate to the second quarter guarded by the Bostánjis (gardeners) of the Sultan: a corps of two thousand five hundred men with a military organization, and who wore red caps and dresses. They were employed as gardeners, park rangers, and rowers of the Sultan's barge, and as guards of the imperial pavilion in the field. Their colonel was called the Bostanji Báshi: he was constantly in personal attendance on the Sultan, and steered the royal caique when His Majesty took the air on the water. In this quarter was the domed council hall where the nine ministers of the State departments met to form the Diván or State Council, and who were hence called Vizirs of the Cupola (Kubba). The Prime Minister (Vazir-i-Aázam) presided, dressed in his State robes of white satin trimmed with fur, and a tall white turban shaped like a sugar loaf, with a broad band of gold lace crossing it diagonally. The other Vazirs wore similar

turbans, and green robes trimmed with fur. Here was the treasury in which was the Tosha Khána of the Sultans, where were kept all the presents made to them by foreign sovereigns ; and here were the quarters of the palace guards ; the Khasekis, (royals), Báltajis, (halberdiers), and Zulfi Báltajis (tressed halberdiers), so called, because they had love-locks of false hair fastened inside of their caps at the temples. These were all bodies of household troops, mustering a few hundreds in each corps, and told off for special duties : the Báltajis guarded the approaches to the harem, and the tressed halberdiers acted as henchmen to the corps of royal pages. Here, also, were the Kápujis or door-keepers, under their Kápuji Bashi. They were five hundred men of the better class, sons of Pashas, Begs, and Aghas, and were employed as heralds, chamberlains, and royal messengers. They preceded the Sultan in a State procession with staves and maces, shouting the Imperial title, and warning people to clear the way. They wore scarlet gowns trimmed with fur with gilt helmets, surmounted by an enormous crest of white ostrich plumes. The third quarter was approached by the Bábas Saádat ; or Gate of Felicity ; and here dwelt the Sultan himself surrounded by his four chambers (Oda) of pages, and guarded by his body-guards, who were quite distinct from the palace-guards before mentioned. They consisted of two corps ; first the Solaks, or Sinistrals, 400 strong, organized in four companies. They were archers, and those who stood on the right of the Sultan drew their bows with the left hand : hence their peculiar name. The Paiks, or couriers, were only one company of 120 men, and carried bundles of fasees with hatchets in them in imitation of the old Roman lictors. They wore gilt helmets with black plumes, while the Solaks wore similar helmets with white plumes. When the Sultan rode in State to the mosque on Friday, the Paiks preceded his horse, while the Solaks marched on each side of him in single file, their huge waving plumes almost hiding him from the sight of the multitude.

The pages were, as we mentioned above, divided into four chambers or Odas ; the royal or private chamber, in which the Sultan himself was enrolled as the first member, consisted of forty pages. The Silahdar Agha, or Master Sword Bearer, ranked the highest of these : he wore a close fitting robe of cloth of gold, and followed close behind the Sultan bearing the Imperial scymetar sheathed upon his shoulder. Other members of this chamber were the Master Vesturer, the Master of the Turban, the Chief Stirrup-holder, the Master of the Napkin, the Master of the Ewer, the Chief Turban Winder, the Chief Coffee Server, the Chief Barber.

The second chamber was that of the Treasury, headed by the

comptroller of the Privy Purse, who scattered largesse among the crowd as he followed the Sultan in State processions : other members were the Aigrette keeper, the keepers of the Plate, the Master of the Robes and others, down to the Chief Nightingale keeper and Chief Parrot keeper. The pages of the third or Buttery Chamber had charge of the service of the Sultan's table and the provision of his meals. Those of the fourth or Traveling Chamber had the care of his camp equipage and of the arrangements for his journies, and the carriage of his baggage. They also provided and maintained the musicians, dancers, and singers for the amusement of royalty ; and, as the later Sultans never went abroad, and even gave up the sports of hunting and hawking which had once formed the only relaxation of the Ottoman Princes from the fatigues of war, the duties of the fourth chamber were latterly confined entirely to this secondary branch of their business. These pages, especially the members of the first chamber, often rose to high dignity in the public service, and filled the chief offices of the State.

Thus Ali Coumouri, immortalised by Byron in the "Siege of Corinth," as the "dauntless Vizier," was the son of a charcoal burner (Kumurji, whom the Sultan Ahmad the Third happened, during one of his rides abroad, to see playing near his father's hut. Struck by the beauty of the child, he took him from his father, and made him a page in the seraglio. He rose to be Silahdar Agha, and afterwards Grand Vazir ; and married his patron's daughter, from whence he has become known to history as Dámád Ali.

Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole says, that not one of the pages of the four chambers was a Turk : but Dámád Ali must have been an exception to the general rule, and so was Evliya Effendi, the Turkish historian, who was a page to Sultan Murad the Fourth, "the Terrible," and has given in his works some account of his experiences in the seraglio : and, very likely, there may have been many others.

Besides the pages, there were also in the third quarter the white and black eunuchs : the former numbering about 100, the latter 300. The chief eunuch or Kizlar Agha (Master of the girls) was a black, and was one of the most trusted and important officials in the seraglio. In a garden in this quarter also were secluded kiosques, where the Princes of the Ottoman blood royal were brought up under the charge of the black eunuchs, isolated from the rest of the world, and confined to the companionship of a dozen pages and as many slave-girls : and here were imprisoned the male relatives of the Sultan, whom their fortunate fate had preserved from the sword, or the bowstring of their uncles and brothers in their infancy.

The fourth and innermost quarter of the seraglio was given up entirely to the Sultan's haram. It was surrounded on all sides by lofty walls washed by the sea, and contained spacious gardens and pleasure grounds, and artificial lakes and canals. In the centre was the Sultan's own kiosque, and grouped around it were ranges of separate buildings containing the apartments for the principal ladies and their *suites*. It was inhabited by from six hundred to a thousand women and girls, who were as carefully organized, and whose duties and discipline were as minutely detailed as those of the male inhabitants of the palace. A lady called the Kiaya Kadin exercised the functions of Governess-General, and she was assisted by a staff of female officials, lady treasurers, lady chamberlains, and so on. The women were graded in four classes; ladies, companions, novices, and menials; and were promoted or degraded from one to the other. The companions waited upon the Sultan, and it was from them that his Ikbáls or concubines were chosen. A strict etiquette governed this enchanted Armida's garden of sensuality, which even its absolute lord and master did not venture to infringe.

It is impossible not to sympathize with Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole in his regrets for the departed glories of the old Ottoman Court, with all its semi-barbaric splendour, its stately pageantry, and martial finery. All these have been swept away with an unsparing hand, but the ignorance and apathy and corruption still remain: the plumed turbans and furred robes are gone, but the black eunuchs and the thousand women-slaves are there still: the Khazánádár Aghá no longer scatters coin to the dervishes of the capital, but the Sultan's privy purse still devours the money which might be expended in equipping battalions of the defenders of Islam.

Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole has passed lightly over the melancholy history of the decline of the Ottoman Power. The causes of it, as we have seen, were many and various: the change in the character of the Sultans; the corruption of the civil administration and the decay of the military organization; the decrease of the Musalman population, and the hostile pressure of a superior civilization, all combined to sink the Empire deeper and deeper into a slough of anarchy and misery. The Russians and Austrians continually assailed the frontiers and annexed the outlying provinces: the Greek and Servian Rayahs struggled incessantly to throw off the Musalman yoke, the provincial Pashas rebelled to escape the extortions of the ministry, the ministers sold the public offices to recoup themselves the money which had purchased their posts, the Janissaries plundered the treasury to forestall the peculation of their pay. Province after province was lost to the

empire. Hungary, Transylvania, Dalmatia, Montenegro, the Crimea, Kabarda, Bessarabia, went in the eighteenth century. Egypt, Greece, Servia, Roumania, and Bulgaria have followed suit. The process of disintegration is now being renewed in Crete and Armenia. Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole furnishes a clever diagram of the rise and fall of the Turkish Empire, shewing its acquisitions and losses in Europe, Asia, and Africa during the six centuries of its existence, and its expansion during the first half of that period, is almost matched by the rapidity and extent of its decline in the second. The drastic reforms of Sultan Mahmud prevented the immediate dissolution of the Empire, but they did not arrest its decay ; and the process is still going on. The chronic state of disturbance in Armenia and Crete, which the Porte is powerless to amend or to suppress, is a sure sign that those provinces will speedily follow the fortunes of Bulgaria and Thessaly : and everywhere, with the rule of the Turk, the Turk himself vanishes. The ruined tomb of a Musalman saint at Buda is the sole sign of an Ottoman occupation that lasted one hundred and fifty years. Not a Turk remains in Roumania, in Greece, or in Servia. The Turks who ruled Algiers for three hundred years are all gone. Fallen though the pride of the Osmanli be, he has not yet fallen so low as to brook the rule of a stranger in the lands where, for so long, he lorded it supreme.

The Turks have at last awoke to the danger of their situation, and realised the nearness of their impending fate. "In Asia there are still shady vallies," said the Vazirs of Sultan Mustafa, "where pleasure kissques may be built."

Musalman fatalism inclines its votaries to acquiesce in the inevitable instead of fruitlessly struggling with an adverse fate. The prophecies of the impending conquest of the "seven infidel kingdoms of the Farang," have been replaced by equally well-authenticated, but more plausible predictions of a temporary expulsion of Islam from the European shores, which is to precede its final triumph : and, is to be, (according to the usual style of prophetic interpretation in a failing creed), the beginning of the end, and the precursor of the final judgment.

Reforming Sultans and Vazirs have striven desperately to turn back the tide of adversity and to keep foes and fate at bay, but with success little commensurate with their hopes and exertions. The origin and progress of reform in Musalman countries is exactly converse to that among European peoples ; in the latter reform is demanded by the democracy, and wrung by threats of revolution from reluctant rulers : in the former Shahs and Sultans force reform at the point of the sword down the throats of a recalcitrant nation. The conservative instinct which are the natural concomitants of the Moslem religion

among all races, would alone make the Turks indisposed to any social or political change, and their Turanian descent would also conduce to a similar effect : and their pride, both of race and of religion, was deeply offended by the fact that the measures of reform sought to be thrust upon them, were imitated from Europeans and Christians. The reforming Sultan Mahmud was himself a zealous Islamite, and his aim and object was not to bring Turkey into harmony with the civilization of Europe, but to enable her to defy it, by restoring her old military ascendancy. He imagined that the novel superiority of the Christian arms was the sole cause of the decadence of Turkey, and that if the Ottoman warriors could be drilled and disciplined like Germans and Russians, they might again bear the crescent banner victoriously to Buda and Kaminice. He strove to alter the outward form of the national organization while leaving the spirit untouched ; and he produced a system, which though more in accordance with European civilization and the temper of the times, was yet utterly unsuited to the genius and the traditions of the nation.

Moreover, he found but few willing, and no capable instruments of his policy among the Turks themselves. In similar circumstances, Peter the Great employed Lefort, and other Frenchman and Germans to reform and civilize Russia and its civil and military institutions, a task which he would probably never have accomplished by means of the Russians themselves. But Sultan Mahmud was debarred, by the prejudices of his creed, from employing the only instruments that could have carried out his reforms to an effective result. Turkey had once actually the talents of Von Moltke himself at her service, and disdained to avail herself of the sword of a Christian !

The English are now proving in Egypt how necessary is European supervision to the effectual working of European, that is to say, civilized methods of administration in an Oriental country. Had the Turkish Sultans, instead of only seeking the advice of German experts, placed the working of their military administration, and the leading of their troops in the hands of German officers, the crescent might still be floating over the fortresses on the Danube.

Turkish literature has undergone as complete and striking a change as has the costume and military system of the nation. Hitherto it had been founded entirely on the Persian model ; and was composed, to a great extent, of versions and translations of Persian works. "Instead of history," says Von Moltke, writing in 1832, "the Turks write only inflated bombast ;" and Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole has given us several translated extracts from the Turkish Chronicles written in the

Mussajja or rhyming prose, so familiar to the students of Persian literature; these passages have been so cleverly rendered, that the jingle of the original has been preserved in the English translation. The study of European languages, and the influence of European thought, has produced an entire change in the forms of Turkish literary composition which at present follows a French model. The matter is now considered more than the manner, and lucidity of expression is more admired than intricacy of style. There are already signs of a similar and equally desirable change overtaking the national literature of Persia.

The chapter on Ottoman Literature is a most interesting one, and contains many extracts from the Kasidas and Ghazals of Turkish poets faithfully and rhythmically translated into English verse, which though, of course, falling far short of the standard of the original, as all poetical pieces must when rendered into a foreign tongue, still give the English reader some impression of both the merits and defects of the old style of Turkish poetry. The prevailing motive of the Modern Turkish poets is a pathetic melancholy, probably imitated from the French Romantic School, and reflecting, as our author suggests, the sad story of the waning fortune of a once victorious race.

The doom of Turkey is not difficult to foresee, though it is not so easy to foretell the exact manner of its accomplishment. In spite of the guarantee of the integrity of the Ottoman dominions by the Great Powers at the Treaty of Paris after the Crimean War, we find most of them joining in the first partition of Turkey effected by the Berlin Congress in 1878. And, as in the case of Poland, the first partition will probably and naturally be followed by a second and a third. The Ottoman Empire may continue to exist some centuries later as a petty Asiatic State; or it may be dissolved by the shock of the expulsion of its dynasty from Constantinople: an event that cannot be very long delayed.

The ceaseless southward march of Russia will, without doubt, soon bring the Muscovite to Erzeroum and Trebizond: and England will then appear on the shores of the Persian Gulf and the banks of the Euphrates in the same character which she has assumed at Cyprus and in Egypt.

The only miracle that could avert the approaching political extinction of Turkey and of the other independent Musalman States would be, a reform of Islam on lines that might bring Muhammadan institutions into harmony with the spirit of the age in which we live. Such a reform as we may possibly see happily accomplished in Moslem India by the teachings and efforts of men like Maulavi Chiragh Ali and Sayyid Husain

Balgrámi Imad-ud-Daula, and others who strive to reconcile the creed of Islám with the teachings of nature. But of such a general reform there is but little hope ; and the main current of ideas in the Moslem world runs in the contrary direction : towards a vain ideal of a restoration of the Khalfate, and a return to the political ideas and institutions of the time of the Prophet and his successors. Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole thus closes the last chapter of his story of Turkey :—

“ There are some who believe in a great Muhammadan revival, with the Sultan-Khalif at the head : a second epoch of Saracen prowess, and a return to the day when Turks were simple, sober, honest men who fought like lions. There is plenty of such stuff in the people still ; but where are their leaders ? Till Carlyle's great man comes, the hero who can lead a nation back to the paths of valour and righteousness, to dream of the regeneration of Turkey is but a bootless speculation.”

ART. XIII.—THE FUTURE OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE.

THE visit of Mr. Voelcker to India tends naturally to a consideration of the present attitude of the Government towards Agricultural Science. The subject is admittedly of great importance, but no attempt will be made here to deal with it in a comprehensive manner. However, a few hints may prove worth the consideration of those interested in the welfare of this country.

In the first place it may be laid down as an axiom, that no serious attempt has been ever made to discover and formulate the wants of the Indian cultivator ; *i. e.*, no expert has been employed to study the question from a scientific point of view. Mr. Voelcker's tour is a step in the right direction, but unless it be followed by the regular employment of an Agricultural Chemist, whose attainments are at least equal to his, this visit will prove nearly as fruitless of practical results as that of Prof. Wallace, whose crude notions are only valuable in so far as his book "India in 1887" has directed attention to some of the defects in the present system under which the Government is supposed to improve Indian agriculture.

The heads of the various Agricultural Departments may be full of zeal, energy and administrative skill, but unfortunately none of them in India know anything practically of Agricultural Science, for a diploma from an English College, followed by a few hurried experiments in this country, cannot qualify a man, however able he may be, to offer useful advice on this subject.

It is an old story that experiments conducted under the patronage of the Indian Government have heretofore led to no practical results. The machinery that has been imported or invented by our Agricultural Departments has not been accepted by the Indian cultivator : the manures that have been recommended have not been generally adopted : the ensilage that has been made by General Officers has not been sold ; and the improved seeds that have been scattered broadcast over Government and Wards' Estates have not hitherto given satisfactory harvests. The result is that an influential party, of which the late Sir Ashley Eden was a leading member, derides all efforts to improve the systems of agriculture that have been in vogue here from time immemorial ; and the Government of India,

owing to the technical ignorance of its advisers, cannot reply effectively to the jeers which have greeted its efforts to do useful work in this direction. It has been like the child who daily pulls up the seedling he has planted in order to watch its growth. This infantile curiosity and inordinate desire for immediate results, have been fatal to all honest enquiry that might in time (had time been permitted) have led to knowledge sufficiently exact to benefit the Indian cultivator. Let us take a few instances. The manufacture of a cheap light plough that will turn over the soil is said to be one of India's *desiderata*. Assuming this to be the case,—though the fact that India with its very different conditions of soil and climate does really require a plough with a mould-board, has never yet been satisfactorily proved,—what is the procedure that has been followed by the Agricultural Departments? Either patent ploughs have been imported from Europe or America, whose weight and cost are fatal to their general adoption, or else persons, who are incapable of calculating the form of the beautiful curve that will turn over most soil with the least resistance, have been encouraged to invent cheap ploughs which have been freely manufactured long before the mass of the cultivators whom it was intended to benefit have decided that such ploughs are after all *not* superior to those inherited from their ancestors.

Take manures: The Indian cultivator who uses cow-dung for fuel, and scatters the ashes over his fields, has been blamed for his improvidence by hundreds of officials who were absolutely ignorant how far the soil was deficient in the plant constituent dissipated by the Indian process. The amount of nitric acid that descends in rain has been carefully calculated in Europe, but no attempt has ever been made (I believe) to make similar calculations for India with its obviously different meteorological conditions, and therefore, how is it possible for any one to ascertain the requirements of the soil, or to pronounce that any given field would benefit more by the application of cow-dung before or after burning?

The effect of raw bones as a manure varies considerably from that observed in Europe. Here, again, is a fruitful subject for further enquiry, but no scientific attempts in this direction have, so far as I know, yet been made in India.

As regards Stock improvement, the efforts of the Agricultural Departments have, in some cases, been actually prejudicial. As the pressure of the population on the soil increases, pastoral classes and their cattle must, if left to themselves, yield to the agriculturists. As the pasture grounds are replaced by arable fields, the stock deprived of sufficient food becomes degraded, and steadily diminishes until it is insufficient for local

requirements. Cultivators are then compelled to use better stock, having to buy their plough bullocks at fairs and religious gatherings, where these have been brought from localities where good stock can still be bred in abundance. Left to themselves, the poor weedy cattle would die out, and stock-breeding in suitable localities would be encouraged. The supply would meet the demand to the mutual advantage of breeders and cultivators; but here the Government of India steps in with the noblest intentions, and by insisting on the preservation of fodder reserves, does its best to check the desirable demand for good stock by helping to perpetuate steadily deteriorating breeds of cattle.

Take seed grains: With the exception of Behar indigo planters, who have found it advantageous to import foreign seed, Indian cultivators generally grow crops from local seed. Occasionally an enterprising ryot will take a long and expensive journey in order to procure a better sample from a foreign market. The result of the first year's growth, weather being favourable, shows the superiority of the foreign grain, but every year this superiority decreases as the produce assimilates more and more to the local grain, until the disgusted ryot sees that he must procure a fresh supply, or content himself with the produce of his local market. Now, if Government were to collect samples of good grain in suitable centres, the ryot might get his grain at a moderate cost, but this is just what Government has never done, though the Agricultural Exhibitions that have been held from time to time would have afforded all the requisite information. The plan usually adopted by Agricultural Departments, is to request local authorities to order Managers of Government and Wards' Estates to conduct experiments in foreign grains. For instance; suppose it be desired to show that good Buxar wheat can be grown with advantage in Orissa; the Manager of a Government estate there informs his Collector that he requires one maund of seed. This information is passed on through the Commissioner of Orissa, the Director of Land Records, &c., the Commissioner of Patna (?), the Collector of Shahabad, the Sub-Divisional Officers of Buxar, and one or two more subordinates, till it reaches a peon who goes into the bazar and buys the cheapest grain that is sufficiently like good seed to deceive the Sub-Divisional Officer, who will forward it in due course till it reaches the Manager in Orissa. Sometimes the seed miscarries, and occasionally it arrives too late, and in any case as the seed was probably inferior, the result of one year's experiment does not justify (though it may elicit) the opinion that the soil, or climate, or both, of the estate are probably not suited for the cultivation of Buxar wheat.

Take forecasts: A recent circular from the Government of India started with the astonishing assumption that the preparation of forecasts for winter paddy could probably be effected as easily as those submitted for wheat; and then went on to ask the Government of Bengal to submit such a forecast by the end of September. The Director of Land Records, &c., accepting without demur this assumption which ignores the notorious effect of rainfall, &c., up to, and even after the given date, requests Commissioners to submit their reports by the 1st September. Collectors are asked to send their figures in by the 15th August, and Sub-Divisional Officers must therefore send in their prophecies soon after the beginning of that month. Now, assuming (and this is no slight assumption) that all Sub-Divisional Officers can form a correct opinion of the existing state of the winter paddy, early in August, how can they guess therefrom the ultimate outturn, and what will be the value of statistics founded on these guesses, which will reach the Government of India by the 30th September, and be published in October or November? Will any grain merchant trust in such a forecast more than in the more recent estimates of local agents?

Enough has been said to show the futility of trying to improve agriculture in India on the present system. The following remedies might, perhaps, remove the reproach under which the Government now suffers:—

First—the appointment, on a suitable salary, of a skilled agricultural chemist with administrative skill. He should be allowed sufficient capital and a free-hand for at least twenty years. He must never be required to justify his existence before the expiration of that period. Remember that Sir John Laws and Dr. Gilbert have been hard at work for about double that time, and even yet they are still prosecuting their enquiries; nor can they speak with certainty of the conditions which govern the growth of even the common farm crops and grasses. For instance, German chemists have recently thrown doubts on some conclusions about the power of legumes to assimilate free nitrogen, which, it was thought had been established more than twenty years ago.

Secondly—the stoppage of all expenditure on experiments by unqualified theorists, such as those made on ensilage a few years ago.

Thirdly—having appointed the qualified agricultural chemist, let there be no unnecessary interference with his work and expenditure within limits fixed by the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Council of the Royal Agricultural Society of England.

The time for half measures is past. No one has a right to

assume that, because heretofore uninspired teachers have attempted in vain to preach a gospel that they did not understand, that Western science, which has done so much for the East in all other departments, has nothing to teach the ignorant Indian ryot. Once show him that a proposed change is advantageous, the cultivator's alleged stupid conservatism will disappear. Just as he adopted Mylne and Thompson's sugar mill as soon as he saw that it was an improvement on his old fashioned wooden structure, so will he adopt machinery, seed, stock, or patent manures, directly it has been proved that the adoption of new methods will be beneficial to his interests; but till that date our present system is worse than useless; for by our ignorant experiments, we increase the cultivator's innate distrust of Western science, and retard the date on which the future Director of Agriculture having supplemented his knowledge of Western science by laborious and protracted research in India, will declare himself ready to preach the true gospel, which once accepted, as it must be over the whole continent, will convert one of the poorest into one of the richest countries in the world.

D. B.

ART. XIV.—THE EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL
ORIENTAL CONGRESS.

HELD AT STOCKHOLM AND CHRISTIANIA.

September 1889.

THE idea of International Oriental Congresses was conceived in Paris, and in that city in the year 1873 the first was held : the example was followed by London in 1874, by St. Petersburg in 1876, Florence 1878, Berlin 1881, Leyden in 1883, Vienna in 1886, and Stockholm in 1889. Having taken part in all these meetings, except the first, I have published accounts of them in the pages of this periodical, and now proceed to chronicle the events of the last at Stockholm.

The object has been most laudable, and great success has attended the movement : the object was, that the scholars and students of Oriental languages, literature, and archæology, might periodically meet and take stock of the progress of each branch of science, and that the members of each nation and university, or museum, might no longer work in seclusion from their fellow labourers except by the medium of their learned works, periodicals and cyclopædias ; another object was, that friendships, or at least acquaintances, might be formed and animosities removed.

At the congresses of Paris and London, there was a great severity and simplicity in the proceedings. Flaneurs and outsiders were not permitted to introduce themselves into the roll of membership ; there were no entertainments, or distractions, or dinners ; the scholars met for their business, and then dispersed to their lodgings. The authorities took no notice of the congress, and in the great cities of Paris and London it attracted no more notice than a reunion of doctors or geographers, and made much less stir than the British Association.

At St. Petersburg the new departure commenced, and moderate entertainments were offered ; it was noticed that an element of non-scholars, such as passing travellers, and a considerable female colouring had introduced themselves. The presence of the Emperor of Brazil as a member, gave a flavour of royalty. In the succeeding congress at Florence the female element was excluded, but the number of flaneurs was greatly increased. Entertainments and excursions multiplied. At St. Petersburg all the members had been feasted in the absence of the Emperor in the palaces of Peterhof and Tsarki Selo. At Florence the delegates were entertained in the Pitti

Palace in the name of the King by his brother the Duke of Aosta. In the next two congresses at Berlin and Leyden there was a return to Spartan severity ; hospitality was indeed offered, but not of a character to impede business ; in both countries royalty turned away its face from the congress much to the advantage of real work.

In the next congress at Vienna the festivities and entertainments and excursions multiplied ; the congress was placed under the protection of a benevolent Archduke, whose kindness and courtesy were above all praise, but there was a manifest downgrade tendency as regards despatch of business. In the eighth congress last September at Stockholm and Christiania, owing to the condescending kindness and genial hospitality of the Sovereign and people of Sweden and Norway, business disappeared, and from the first day of assembly to the last of parting, there was a succession of dinners, operas, excursions, entertainments and illuminations ; long after midnight the delighted congressionists would get them to their beds. Nothing but a frame of cast-iron could stand the strain. Nothing but the appetite of a German student, ready to lay up provision for the winter, could dispose of the splendid repasts. A positive irruption took place of flaneurs, tourists and casuals ; there were some most prejudicial changes of method, for, instead of quiet work of scholars in the sections, several days were devoted to collective meetings of all the sections to hear set speeches in the different languages of Europe and Asia, under the presidency of His Majesty in person ; there was only a dummy President and an all-powerful General Secretary. Several *bonâ fide* Orientals, in the dress of their country, were presented to be stared at like some choice phenomena of Barnum's all-world show, and indeed the good people of Scandinavia seemed to think that it was a collection of *Orientals not of Orientalists* : the streets were crowded to see the members pass by ; whole villages turned out to see the train which conveyed the collective congress from Stockholm to Christiania, and there was a feeling of wonder and disappointment that there were no elephants, camels, tigers, tents, and other paraphernalia of Oriental gatherings ;—the contemporaneous arrival of a travelling menagerie would have been most desirable. Good work was indeed transacted somehow or other, but, when the excitement and delight of the shows, and the good eating had passed away, there was a feeling of disappointment with the result of the congress in thoughtful minds. No sufficient arrangement was made for the place or time of future congresses, and it is obvious that the responsibility imposed upon any country to receive future congresses is greatly enhanced, for whence are the funds to

come in such cities as London, Paris or Berlin, to meet such expenditure ; while, on the other hand, the absence of entertainments will give rise to most invidious comparisons of the present with the past.

In the narrative of this congress, I shall notice (i) the locale and personelle, (ii) the festivities briefly, (iii) the business transacted in as full a detail as the imperfect daily bulletins permit me, (iv) lastly, the sinister outlook for the future, for we have come to the parting of the ways. We must return to the old ways of the congress, or this will indeed prove to be the last.

The following countries were represented : Austria, Baden, Baróda (India), Bavaria, Bosnia, Brazil, Denmark, Egypt, France, Great Britain, British India, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Persia, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Saxony, Saxe Coburg Gotha, Siam, Turkey. The following universities sent delegates : In Germany, Halle, Griefswald, Giessen, Berlin, Munich. In Austria, Vienna and Prague. In Denmark, Copenhagen. In Sweden, Upsála and Lund. In the United States, Baltimore and Providence. In Russia, Helsingfors, St. Peterburgh and Kazan. In Great Britain, Oxford, Cambridge and Edinburgh : in British India, Bombay. Possibly other universities were indirectly represented by distinguished members of their body. The following learned societies were represented : in Germany, the German Oriental Society, and the Scientific Society of Munich. In Austria, the Vienna Oriental Museum, and the Buda-Pest Hungarian Society. In Belgium the Archæological Society. In Russia the Finno-Ugrian Society, and the Imperial Archæological Society. In France, the Asiatic and Anthropological Societies, and the Academy of Hippo at Bone in Algeria. In Great Britain, the Royal Asiatic and Geographical Societies, the Biblical Archæology, the Palestine Exploration Fund. In British India, the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In Italy the Academy "dei Lincei," the Vatican Library, the Scientific Society of Turin. In the Netherlands the Oriental Society.

The presents of books to the congress, and afterwards to the royal libraries of Sweden and Norway were magnificent. Conspicuous were those sent by the Vatican Library : the British and Foreign Bible Society sent translations of portions of the Bible in one hundred languages, selected from a much larger number, as specimens of the languages in the five portions of the world. Such a present could have been made by no other Society in the world, and in no century preceding the present one. The India Office presented a magnificent collection of their works : authors, publishers, and societies helped to cover tables with individual works ; or series of publications—in fact, no previous congress had received such splendid presents. It represented a grand harvest of intellectual activity.

The excessive number of members was to be deplored, as it turned the congress into a bear-garden. In 1881, at the Berlin Congress, there were 290 members; at Leyden in 1883, there were 454; in 1886 at Vienna there 424; at the present congress in 1889 there were 713, of whom 198 were Swedes or Norwegians, and 515 strangers, among whom there were some Orientals, rather than Orientalists, as Egypt sent seven, Algeria two, Japan three, British India four, Persia four, Turkey twenty-eight. Many of those who came from countries in Europe, might, with advantage to the congress, have staid at home; at the same time the absence of many familiar faces at former congresses was deplored. Death had been busy during the last three years, and many more illustrious scholars were kept at home by age, or want of strength for the exertion, or domestic affliction, and they were wise; for a man must be strong as well as learned to go through such an ordeal as the last congress: it is a subject of congratulation that no deaths did occur during the sittings. It is not, indeed, desirable, that ladies should, by a hard and fast rule, be excluded. Some came on their own merits, and others as companions to their husbands and fathers, who would not come without them. Nor should students of oriental subjects be excluded, or scholarly men, because they have published no books and occupy no professional position—for an intelligent and sympathising audience is greatly to be appreciated. But it is beyond reason that the congress should be choked, like the Flavian amphitheatre at Rome by men and women, a rude and ignorant mob, seeking only "*panem et circenses*."

The communications entered on the list were numerous, various and interesting. A perusal of the pamphlet which recorded them is a fair exemplar and measure of the enormous field over which Oriental research now extends. Some members wrote of what had happened in a dim and remote past; others dealt with phenomena actually exhibited at the present time; some communications dealt with grammatical minutiae. Five or six members were heard in the sections disputing about the true value of a syllable, or even a letter, and their views were wholly irreconcilable; in other sections grand principles were discussed, affecting the interests of vast populations, or of the whole human race. Sometimes the past history of a people, ignored by Romans and Greeks, was disinterred and revealed to the astonishment of the nineteenth century: if there had been more time, and an exclusion of frivolous amusements and foolish display, the serious results of this congress, as evidenced by the bill of fare, would have equalled that of any of its predecessors; as it is, by their own intrinsic value, they deserve high praise.

The city of Stockholm was worthy of the greatest of assemblies, and His Majesty King Oscar II, as a scholar and a patron of scholars, was worthy of the place which he occupied, and of the city in which he resided. The hotels were excellent, the Committee of management had made admirable arrangements, and the weather was magnificent. In the material scheme there was not a single contretemps: if a scientific congress ought to be conducted in the manner adopted by the Committee, the tribute of entire success is due to those who carried out the programme.

The expenditure must have been enormous, some portions of which were defrayed by the King, the municipalities, and private individuals; but it is an open secret that the Managing Secretary, Count Landberg, was by far the greatest contributor. The congress lasted ten days, from Sunday Sept. 1, on which an informal meeting took place in the Grand Hotel, until Wednesday Sept. 11, when it finally broke up at Gotenburgh, and during that period on every day there were receptions, dinners, luncheons, breakfasts and suppers, visits to celebrated spots like Gambla, Upsála, or to see waterfalls and castles, exhibitions of natation and electricity, operas and steamer-trips. The kindness and hospitality of the people of Sweden and Norway was extraordinary; to those who recollected the different kind of reception afforded to previous congresses at London and Berlin, the contrast seemed overwhelming. His Majesty received the whole multitude in his royal Castle of Drottningholm on Lake Malar. He conversed without reserve with any one who wished to have the honour of being presented to him. The illuminations on the shores of the lake were most striking, extending over a space of many miles. Had it been a congress of European Sovereigns, or the élite of Europe in arts, arms, and station, more could not have been done than was done for the very mixed multitude which had paid their twenty francs for membership for the sake of the entertainments. The trip to Upsála deserves special mention. At Upsála the students of the university received the whole congress with unbounded hospitality; the great gothic translation of the Bible by Ulfilas was exhibited. At old, or Gamla Upsála, the hill of Odin was occupied, mead was drunk from horns, and King Oscar presented a magnificent horn as a kind of heirloom to be handed on from congress to congress.

Another feature should be noticed; for weeks previous, all the newspapers had announced that a certain German Professor, resident at Oxford, was specially invited to the congress as the guest of King Oscar; upon arrival at Stockholm, it transpired that there were no less than twelve royal guests, not necessarily scholars, as one was the wife of the Oxford Professor.

A still more remarkable instance of royal bounty and appreciation of merit, took place on the last day of the congress at Stockholm, for a shower of stars fell on certain members, the German Professor above alluded to, the General Secretary, a sinologue from Paris, a printer at Leipzig, a publisher at Leyden, another publisher at London, and the worthy librarian of the India Office, London. Two grand crosses of the order of the Northern Star, five Commanderships of the same order, one Commandership of St. Olaf, and eight knighthoods of the Northern Star, St. Olaf, and Gustav Vasa, were thus disposed of. The well-known passion of foreigners to grand crosses and breloques at their button hole was thus gratified. Handsome gold medals were also conferred on some of the genuine orientals. Medals were also conferred in reward for works of merit, on Professor Nöldeke, one of the greatest scholars of Europe, who was absent ; on Professor De Goeje, the celebrated scholar of Leyden, from the Khedive of Egypt ; and on Professor Goldziher of Buda-Pest, by King Oscar ; and a special gold medal and the Order of Vasa was bestowed on Mohamud Chakri-eb-Alusi of Baghdad for a learned work on a Semitic subject. Mention is made of these events to show how heavily weighted will be the managers of any future congress, with no decorations and medals to bestow, and no festive resources at any great city or university-town at their disposal.

I now proceed to the business of the Congress :—

The languages permitted to be used were French, English, German, Italian and Latin, Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Chinese, and Japanese. &c. Some of the poetical recitations were, we regret to say, discordant and ridiculous, calculated to give a false notion of the intelligence of Orientals, such as the natives of India.

The business was divided into five sections—

- I. Modern Semitic.
- II. Ancient Semitic, including Cuneiform.
- III. Aryan.
- IV. Central Asia and Extreme Orient.
- V. Malaysia and Polynesia.

The members of the congress, at least those of them who knew anything of the object of the assembly, grouped themselves at pleasure in one or more of these sections, and proceeded to elect their sectional Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and Secretaries, and this operation, which sometimes gives trouble, was accomplished satisfactorily. By a bold stroke of genius, the Aryan section elected a triad of three to discharge the office of President, and thus staved off a divergence of opinion as to the merits of three scholars of very different calibre.

The congress was opened on Monday September 2nd, in the

Riddar-Huset, or Hall of Knights, by the King in person accompanied by the Crown Prince. All the representatives of foreign powers and their ladies were present; in fact, it was a grand State-ceremony. This was one of the flaws of the arrangement. By special request, members appeared in their academical costumes, and Military and civil uniforms were conspicuous. Delegates of Governments were presented to His Majesty, who read an address in the French language: it was choice and pretty, full of poetry, but had not much bearing on the congress.

"Ce ne sont pas seulement les guarantè siecles, qui vous contemplent: c'est plutôt vous, qui du haut des monuments de la Science contemplez les siecles."

"Pretez l'oreille aux murmures mystiques de nos immenses forêts, aux douces harmonies des vagues qui coupent nos rivages: contemplez la vierge beauté de nos vallées, la majestè de nos Alpes, les sombres prepondenses de nos fjords."

He was followed by M. d' Ehrenheim, who in the few words which he uttered, informed us that he had no pretence whatever to any knowledge of oriental sciences. He seemed only faintly to realise the composition of the congress, for he described the members as "*habitués, que vous êtes, aux splendeurs Orientales, à celle de passé comme à celle de présent.*"

Those who had simply paid their twenty francs for the sake of the entertainments, must have been stung by this unintentional satire.

The General Secretary, Count Landberg, followed with an oration in French, placing the very *raison d'être* of a congress on the wrong basis. According to him, this private assembly of learned men, meeting for their own pleasure, and travelling for the most part at their own expense, quite prepared to pay their own hotel bills, are transformed into humble seekers of the hospitality of the King of Norway and Sweden, in no way at any period of their existence connected with Asia. I quote the following:—

"C'est votre Majesté, qui avec une magnificence de Khalife m' a mis à même de réaliser mon plus cher desir, qui était de présenter mes confrères d' Europe et d' Orient au Souverain de ma patrie!"

Baron von Kremer, the President of the Vienna Congress, whose death we have since to deplore, followed with a brief speech of thanks to the King in German.

It is pleasant to think that there was no courtly flattery in the English language from the beginning to the end of the congress; but by no members of the congress were the condescending kindness and remarkable attainments of the King more highly valued than by the British representatives.

In all previous congresses, where the President was one of ourselves, every delegate of a foreign country was offered the opportunity of speaking, and if he had books to offer, to make remarks on the same. On this occasion the opening meeting was a kind of Court-reception, and delegates not recommended to the favour of the General Secretary, were pushed off into the back row of seats : I quote the order :—

“ Ne pourrrent prendre la parole que ceux qui y aurent été admis la vielle par le Secretaire General.”

Six days were to be spent at Stockholm : the forenoon of the of the first (Monday) had been spent in the opening, which was reasonable ; some of the sections commenced business in the afternoon. Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday were thus occupied. The rooms were commodious and several sections sat at the same time, and good earnest work was done, but the séance was often cut prematurely short by the allurements of banquets, excursions, &c. Friday and Saturday were entirely thrown away. Of course, either the forenoon or afternoon of Saturday was properly devoted to the closing meeting, but it was a stupid and provoking innovation to take two whole days for recitations in unknown languages, or essays read by speakers, without the opportunity for discussion, which is the very life of a congress or conference. I propose to pass under the review, necessarily brief, the solid work of the first few days at Stockholm without keeping to section or particular day. At Christiania, the congress had become a sight-seeing mob, a kind of “Demos” relaxed by continuous good feeding and junketing, and little or no work was done : however, whatever was done is recorded in a feeling of gratitude and respect to the long suffering scholars, who in their distant homes had worked up papers to be read and discussed by sympathetic friends, and found themselves elbowed out by the excitement of a café chantant, or a peripatetic hippodrome.

I proceed to notice papers which are real contributions to knowledge :—

On the Nabataean Inscriptions in the Sinaitic Peninsula.

By Prof. J. EUTING.

Whereas the number of Nabataean inscriptions copied by previous travellers scarcely comes up to 300, Prof. Euting succeeded last spring in adding 700 to the collection. He achieved this success simply because he travelled as an Arab, and climbed barefooted along the rocks in places overlooked by other collectors. Also of many inscriptions previously known, he brought home better copies and squeezes, yielding the novel and important result, that some of the inscriptions were found to be dated. Thus, one showing the year 126, “being the year of the three emperors,” agrees according to the æra of Bosra, which commences in the year 111 A.D., with 237 of our æra. The other

bears the date 85 (=A.D. 196). As compared with Glaser's S. Arabian inscriptions,* these Nabataean inscriptions are not important on account of their age any more than by their contents, for they mostly convey only greetings and names. But they furnish valuable material for tracing the history of the origin of Arabic writing.

Kappadokian Cuneiform Tablets.

By the Rev. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

In 1881 Mr. Pinches drew attention to two Cuneiform tablets, said to come from Kappadokia, one of which was in the British Museum, the other in the Louvre. They were written in a peculiar form of Cuneiform script, and did not seem to be in the Assyrian language; Mr. Pinches concluded therefore that they represented the ancient language of Kappadokia. The following year Prof. Ramsay was starting on a tour of exploration in eastern Asia Minor, and I asked him to inquire for Cuneiform tablets. His inquiries proved fruitless, however; but just before he left Kaisariyeh he noticed some tablets in a shop which he bought for a small sum of money. On his return to England, he handed them over to me. I found that they were similar to the two tablets published by Mr. Pinches, and published transliterations of them in the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology," November 1883. The tablets are now in the British Museum.

Since then I have myself purchased some Kappadokian texts, others have been obtained by Dr. Peters for the University of Pennsylvania, while more than twenty are in the collection of M. Golénisheff at St. Petersburg. The latter are mostly in a very perfect condition, and as some of them are written in the more ordinary type of Cuneiform, a comparison of the latter with what may be termed the Kappadokian script, has enabled M. Golénisheff and myself to identify the Kappadokian characters to which a false value or no value at all had previously been assigned. As soon as the true values of the characters were ascertained, I found that the language of the tablets was an Assyrian dialect, which presented several phonetic peculiarities, and contained words which are probably of foreign origin. The phonetic peculiarities agreed with those of certain of the Tel-el-Amarna texts from Northern Syria, as, for instance, the substitution of *gimel* for *kaph*. Moreover, the forms of the characters resemble those of the Syrian tablets from Tel-el-Amarna, and since the Kappadokian tablets contain phrases which are common in the Tel-el-Amarna texts, but are unknown in Assyrian of later date, we may conclude that the library from which they are derived was founded in the same age as that of the Tel-el-Amarna collection. It was probably situated in the country called "Khanu the greater," by the Assyrians, mention of which is made in a letter of Assur-yuballidh of Assyria to the Egyptian king.

A large proportion of the proper names occurring in the Kappadokian texts are compounded with the name of Assur, and so

* Professor Euting's communication was preceded by one from Dr. Ed. Glaser on the results of his journey in S. Arabia. He stated that whereas previously only two or three hundred inscriptions from those parts had been known, he had brought home copies of 900, some of which are of the highest historical value, and probably go back 2,500 years.

imply that the library belonged to an Assyrian colony. Some of the foreign names found in them are said to be those of *gari* or "strangers." The title of *limmu* is also met with. All the tablets I have examined relate to commercial transactions, principally to the lending of money. One of them is a quittance for the receipt of a large amount of lead.

On two Recent Publications on Semitic Epigraphy.

By Professor D. H. MÜLLER.

Professor D. H. Müller placed on the table of the Semitic Section his two recent publications, *viz.*, 1, a Glossary to the Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, and 2, Epigraphic Monuments from Arabia, from Euting's copies and squeezes, and gave a brief account of each.

No. 1 is a criticism of part iv. fasc. I of the Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, recently edited by MM. J. and H. Derenbourg, and containing 69 Sabæan and Himyaritic inscriptions. The author, while giving due praise to the Institute de France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres) for the great services it has rendered to Semitic epigraphy and Semitic studies generally,† sees himself compelled to pass a severe criticism on this part of the Corpus. Although of the 69 inscriptions here brought together, there are only 18 not yet previously published, the reviewer charges the editors with a large number of wrong readings and interpretations, and with a want of that epigraphical tact and philological criticism which are the main bases of every successful decipherment. He concludes with these words: "The Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum will for a long time continue to be the work by which Semitic studies will be gauged and directed. Such an important publication has therefore to be judged by a different standard to that which would apply to an individual attempt at decipherment. In such a work reliability and solid methodical criticism, together with a complete command of all the known material and the literature, are indispensable postulates."

No. 2 contains 150 newly published inscriptions from el Ora (N. Arabia) which were collected by Prof. Euting of Strassburg, and committed to the editor for publication. One half of them were found to be attributable to a Minæan colony who had their commercial factories in this neighbourhood throughout at least 200 years. The remaining 75 inscriptions are written in a character and in a North Arabian dialect which had already produced a literary language about ten or twelve centuries before Muhammad. In the grammatical sketch which the author gives of this dialect, he defines exactly its position within the range of the Semitic languages. Palæographically the writing proves to be a transition alphabet between the Pœnician and the Sabæan. The inscriptions derive from Thamūd, who is mentioned in the cuneiform writings and the Korān. The graphic representations laid before the Section specially interested the members. The author gives the name of Lihyānī to this new language and writing, and shows that already on a Babylonian cylinder (of the year 1000 a. C.) in the British Museum this character is found engraved.

Prof. J. Oppert drew attention to the importance of these inscriptions with some laudatory remarks, and Prof. Haupt suggested that henceforth new texts communicated to the Congress should be written on a black board.

Prof. Müller spoke as follows:—"The 25th January 1867,—the day on which E. Renan, together with de Saulcy, Longperier, and Waddington, placed before the 'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres' the proposition that they should undertake the publication of a *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*,—will ever remain memorable in the history of Semitic epigraphy and philology. The *Institut de France* has not only given a new and powerful impulse for the sifting and investigation of the existing epigraphical material, but has constantly directed its attention towards the exploration of new fields of research, and the collection of numerous inscriptions. In reviewing at the present time, after the lapse of 22 years, what has been done in Semitic epigraphy, and how rich, and in part how trustworthy, the materials are, we may justly say that not the least part of the merit is due to the publication of the *Corpus Inscriptionum* undertaken by the Institute."

On the Origin and the Date of Composition of the Navigatio Sancti Brandani.

By Professor J. M. DE GOEJE.

It has been more than once remarked that there exists a striking resemblance between the well known tale of Sindbad's adventure on the back of the whale-island, and that of the *Navigatio*. Dr. Schröder endeavoured to prove in the introduction to his edition of the *Navigatio*, that the Orient owes this tale to the Occident, but his argument cannot be accepted. On the contrary, all tends to show that the author of the *Navigatio* borrowed this tale from Sindbad. A careful examination of all the passages of the *Navigatio* in which the whale occurs, leads to the conclusion that two different tales have been combined—one, that of the Sindbad adventure, the other that of the whale, wholly subjected to St. Brandan, which transfers on its back the Saint and his monks to the Birds' Paradise. This latter, the old Brandan legend, has been preserved from a now lost Life of St. Brandan by Rodoiphus Glaber in the *Historia sui temporis*, written in 1047. To this old legend must also be traced the statement that the peregrination lasted seven years. Besides the episode of the whale-island, the author of the *Navigatio* borrowed several other tales from Sindbad, even the description of the Paradise itself. It is probable that, whilst being in the East, he assisted at a recital of the tale of Sindbad, and, misled by the resemblance in sound between the names of Sindbād and St. Brandan (as the English sailors made St. John from Sindan), he took the hero of that tale to be his saint. He could the less doubt of their identity, as the tale had in common with the old Brandan legend, an adventure on the back of a whale, and as the seven voyages of Sindbad seemed to correspond with the seven years of the peregrination of the saint. That the author must have been in the East is clear from his description of the miraculous lighting of the lamps of the altar, which took place every year on the eve before Easter in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

The author of the *Navigatio* borrowed also, but indirectly, from the tale of the adventurers of Lisbon, who, in the tenth century, made a voyage of discovery in the Atlantic. Edrisi, who wrote in 1154, gave some extracts from this tale.

The particulars about the birthplace and the monastery of St

Brandan, given in the beginning of the *Navigatio*, seem to belong to the old legend. From the circumstance that one or two Irish names have been falsely translated, we may conclude that the author was not a born Irishman.

The second part (which could not be read) contains the proofs that the *Navigatio* has been composed in the 11th century, and shows that neither the known passage of the *Martyrologium* of Tallaght, nor Bili's life of St. Machutus (St. Malou) are in opposition with that conclusion. Both furnish us with valuable information about the growth of the Brandan legend. It gives further an ample discussion of the relation existing between the *Navigatio* and the *Imram Maelduin*, and ends by showing that the *Navigatio* had never in Ireland the popularity which it enjoyed on the continent of Western Europe.

On Ibn Sina's Treatise entitled 'The Bird.'

By Professor A. F. VAN MEHREN.

"The Bird" is one of the mystic treatises of the celebrated Arabic philosopher Ibn Sina or Avicenna, probably written after his Hay b. Yaqzân during his sojourn at the court of Alâ-ed-Daulah at Ispahan. Its style, especially at the commencement, is full of enigmatical expressions, and presents many difficulties; these are lessened, however, by the commentary and Persian translation, the work of a certain Omar b. Sabhan, a copy of which is in the British Museum (Cat. Cod. MSS. Or. II. 450, No. 26).

The following is an account of this allegorical composition, which resembles in many points one of the didactic poems of Aurelius Prudentius, a Christian poet of the fourth century (*cf.* *Aur. Prudentii Clementis carmina*, ed. Dressel, Lips. 1860, p. 162).

After a preface addressed to his friends, in which he speaks of the qualities of real friendship, he proceeds: A party of hunters go out to catch birds. After laying their nets, they caught a good number, and among them was the author of this story. Shut up in their cages, they at first were suffering from their captivity; but they gradually became accustomed to it, till a small number of them succeeded in escaping, while the rest, still in captivity, seeing them rise in the air, asked them to show them the means of obtaining their freedom and to aid their escape. These, after some hesitation, offered to assist their unfortunate companions, and showed them the way to escape safely from their captivity. When they had in their flight arrived in sight of eight high mountains, they made great efforts to pass over their summits, and after crossing the last they gained access to the palace of the Great King. Admitted to his presence, they began to describe to him their wretched condition as caused by the ends of the chains still attached to their feet. Then he promised to furnish them with a messenger who should convey to their oppressors the order to detach those chains. That messenger of deliverance is the angel of Death.

On the oldest form of the Upanishads.

By Professor H. OLDENBERG.

There is no doubt that *upa-ni-shad* literally means the (reverential) sitting down by somebody or something. But the correct interpretation, that by this term, the sitting down of the pupil by the master is intended, who proposes to hand down to him the mysterious doctrine of the Upanishad, appears to be untenable,

for the reason that the Upanished texts constantly and customarily speak of a "reverential sitting down" in a very different connection, that is to say, of that reverential sitting down in which the pious and wise concentrate their thoughts upon the highest objects of all pondering, *viz.*, the Atman or Brahman. Although in all cases in which a verb is required in speaking of a sitting down in that sense, *upa ās* is used rather than a compound of the root *sad*, usage at once reverts from *upa ās* to *upa-ni shad* as soon as a substantive is required to convey that meaning. The oldest Upanishads (also called *ādes'a*, *nāmadheya*) consisted in brief instructions as to in what form, or under what definite name the pious had to conceive of the Brahman. Round this nucleus those further prose and metrical elements, which followed the diction used in the Brāhmaṇa texts, gathered themselves, that we find combined in such texts as the Brhad Aranyaka or in the Chāndogya Upanishad.

On the Origin and Import of the oldest Samans.

By Professor A. HILLEBRANDT.

Professor Hillebrandt states that the two oldest melodies used in the Hindu ritual, Brhad and Rathantara, were connected with the solstice festivals, and that originally the former belonged to the summer solstice, and the latter to the winter solstice. This fact explains the strange comparisons drawn in reference to them; Brhadrathantara, *e. g.* are the two breasts of the year, or Rathantara is what is short, Brhad what is long, inasmuch as Rathantara was originally sung on the shortest, Brhad on the longest day of the year. Thus some curious customs, hitherto left unnoticed, gain greater significance. It is said, *e. g.* in one of the ritual manuals that Prajāpati created the thunder after the Brhad. Actually, at the Mahāvratīya festival on the day of the summer solstice, drums are used, and with the beating of drums the thunder is imitated. The rite connected with the Rathantara is still more remarkable. Prajāpati, it is said, created Rathantara, and in its wake the sound of the chariot is created. In correspondence with this, the Rathantara is to be introduced on a certain day by the noise of chariots. The author recognizes in this an old Aryan rite of the winter-solstice festivals, and compares with it the custom prevalent (according to Grimm) in some parts of Schleswig of rolling a wheel through the village at the Christmas season. He further endeavours to show that Sāmans had their original cult in popular practice, and thence became elements of Brahmanic sacrifice. This would explain the reason why, in several law-codes, the chanting of the Sāmans is mentioned in a sneering manner. The melodies were originally based on worldly texts, which were perhaps something like the ditties and saws customary with us at the summer-solstice festivals. When those tunes were received into the Brahmanic cult, religious texts were chosen for them to replace the lay ones, and texts from the Rksamhitā were selected for the purpose.

Archæological Researches in India.

By DR. J. BURGESS, C.I.E.

The absence of any historical literature in India renders the scientific survey and delineation of its monuments indispensable to the proper study of the national history, as well as of the development of its art and architecture, which bear the clearest records of the growth of religions, of manners and customs, of

the taste, civilization, and prosperity of its peoples. The collection of sufficient and accurate data for such a study, and the careful preservation of the monuments themselves, are surely manifest duties of an enlightened Government.

Archæology, as a department of scientific research, based on a groundwork of precise knowledge, with fixed principles, and excluding everything of a merely speculative nature, is a science of recent growth, concerned with the logical deduction of the history of man and his arts from the monuments and other works he has left. This strictly scientific method the author would have applied to the Indian surveys. Like all other branches of research, however, its methods have grown from materials collected by pioneers who had not the opportunity of applying or developing these methods, and the paper was largely concerned with the history of these workers,—the rise of the Asiatic Societies of Bengal, Madras, and Great Britain. the services of Jones, the Daniells, Dr. Francis Buchanan Hamilton, Col. Colin Mackenzie, Colebrooke, Sir W. Elliot, J. Prinsep, Kittoe, Lassen, H. H. Wilson, and others. The great exponent of scientific Archæology, as applied to Indian monuments, however was the late James Fergusson, D.C.L., F.R.S. whose journeys between 1834 and 1839. were undertaken with the one object in view, of ascertaining the age and objects of the rock-cut monuments of India and those of later date. "Nowhere," he remarked, "are the styles of architecture so various as in India, and nowhere are the changes so rapid, or follow laws of so fixed a nature," and a chronological arrangement thus becomes palpable to the trained student. Fergusson's principles reduce the multifarious details to order, and the details confirm the principles; and it is to him the students of Indian antiquities owe the means of checking traditions by easy reference to the substantial records to which, in his works and in others owing much to his influence, access is now possible. His works in this department were noticed, and the impulse given to research by the translations of Fabian and Hiuen Tsiang, and then the author passed on to the origin, history, and work of the recent surveys in Northern and in Western and Southern India, and the publication of the results so far as they have yet been issued; the materials on hand however, are very considerable and most important. A volume by Dr. Führer, edited by Dr. Burgess, has just appeared at Calcutta, but he stated that about four volumes from each of the surveys might be produced as rapidly as he could carry them through the press, if only Government would sanction the very moderate outlay required: this it is hoped will be done.

The author glanced at the work done in Epigraphy and the advances made since he started the *Indian Antiquary*, through its agency, the work of Mr. Fleet, and his latest attempt to continue the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* by the periodical publication of the *Epigraphia Indica* (a copy of which was presented at the Congress), and which has been so favourably hailed by Continental scholars.

In 1885 Dr. Burgess succeeded General Sir A. Cunningham, Director-General of the Archæological Surveys in Northern India, and set himself the task of the accurate and complete delineation of the monuments; more careful and scientific methods of excavation; and the most perfect possible reproductions of inscriptions, to be deciphered and edited by the best qualified scholars. Some of the assistants nominated before he took charge were

inefficient, and the want of funds have disappointed otherwise well-founded expectations. Dr. Burgess retires and the three surveys in Upper India can be reduced to one, or rather the five circles for all India can be reduced to three, under properly-qualified surveyors, with one or two specialists for epigraphy—each with a small staff of native assistants—those in epigraphy being trained to scientific work in that branch.

Native princes may also come to give valuable help in this survey, and the wise and munificent patronage of the Maharajas of Baroda and Jaypur was specially noticed.

Asoka's Thirteenth and Fourteenth Edicts in the Mansehra Version.

By Professor Dr. G. BÜHLER.

Shortly after my arrival at Stockholm on the occasion of the late International Oriental Congress, Dr. J. Burgess handed to me a paper-impression of a large inscription in North-Indian characters which he had received a few days before from Mr. Rodgers, the Archæological Surveyor of the Panjab. After a cursory inspection I was able to announce to him that it contained Asoka's thirteenth rock edict and possibly the fourteenth. My communication in no way surprised him, and he informed me that the impression was the result of a search instituted by his orders for the missing portions of the Mansehra version. With his permission I made the discovery known at the second meeting of the Aryan Section of the Congress (see Bulletin No. 8), and gave there readings of some of the most important passages of the thirteenth edict. As every addition to our knowledge of the Asoka inscriptions possesses a considerable interest, I now reproduce the remarks made at the meeting, and add some others on points which have come out during a more leisurely examination of the document.

The impression measures 4 ft. 6 in. in height. Its breadth is in the upper part, down to line 8, about 8 ft. 7 in., and in the lower 6 ft. 2 in. It contains thirteen lines, slanting upwards from the right to the left. All of them are more or less mutilated at the end. In the upper ones about sixty letters or even more are missing, in the lower ones about forty. The first eleven lines and a half contain portions of the thirteenth edict, the latter part of the twelfth line and the thirteenth, fragments of the fourteenth. The first legible words of line 1 are *pacha adhuna ladheshu Kalimeshu*, which correspond with the beginning of line 2 of the Shâhbâzgarhî version. It is thus evident that the inscription is mutilated also at the top, and that its real first line is missing. In the preserved portions there are a good many illegible or disfigured letters, and the appearance of the impression shows that the stone has not been polished, but is full of natural fissures and flaws.

This state of things no doubt diminishes the value of the document. Nevertheless, it is by no means useless. It confirms a number of readings found hitherto only in single versions, and furnishes, in some passages, interesting variæ lectiones.

But from Dr. Burgess's statement regarding the circumstances under which it was discovered and the impression was taken, I conclude that the find may eventually prove to be still more important, and that we may hope to obtain complete copies of the two edicts. The account which Dr. Burgess has given me is as follows :—

At a late visit to Mansehra, during which he took the impressions of edicts I.—VIII. and IX.—XII. used for my article in vol. xliii. of the "Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft" (p. 273 ff.), he noticed that the two inscribed rocks are surrounded by a very large number of big loose boulders, full of natural rents and fissures. It then struck him that the two missing edicts might possibly be incised on one of these. For, owing to the roughness of the stones, the existence of letters might be easily over-looked. As the time of his stay was too limited for a careful examination of each single boulder, he asked the Archæological Surveyor of the Panjab to undertake the task. Thereupon Mr. Rodgers sent,

in the beginning of the last rains, a native clerk to Mansehra, with orders to institute a strict search. The latter found, after a great deal of trouble, a third inscribed stone, which had been removed from its original position and had rolled down to a *nulla* or torrent, overhanging its bank. This yielded the impression under notice. As the stone is not in its original position, and as the discoverer is not an archaeological expert, it is not at all unlikely that there are more letters on it than the impression contains. It may be that a portion of the inscription is hidden under the stone, or has been overlooked in consequence of the bad condition of the surface. It seems to me also very probable, that an impression, taken in sections during a more favourable season by a competent archaeologist, will be much more readable than the present one. Under these circumstances I believe it advisable to wait with an attempt at editing the text, until the stone has been examined once more and a fresh impression has been taken. But I should be ungrateful towards Dr. Burgess and Mr. Rodgers, if I concluded this communication without adding that they have laid all students of Indian history under a great obligation by what they have already done.

On the Phonology and the Vocabulary of the Baluci Language.

BY PROFESSOR W. GEIGER.

Lassen already recognized Balūci as an Iranian language. Subsequently F. Müller and Hübschmann gave a general sketch of its phonology. The material, however, available to them was so limited and meagre, that much remains yet to be done. Within the last ten years more abundant materials for the study of Balūci have become accessible, by which we have been enabled to draw a distinction between the dialects within the Balūci language (*Geiger*, Sitzungsberichte der K. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, Philol.-histor. Classe, 1889, 5. 68 ff.) and to deal with greater precision with its phonology and its position with regard to the other Iranian dialects.

As regards the phonology, it is an important fact that the *z* of the Avestā language is never represented by *d*, as is the case in old-Persian, Pahlavī and Modern-Persian, but always by *z*. Hübschmann still maintained that there was a twofold representation, *viz.*, by *d* and *z*. It was proved, however, that all the words in which *d* occurs are loan-words from Modern-Persian. Thus *dil*, heart, is the Mod. Pers. دل, while the genuine Balūci form is *zirdē*. One might, therefore, assume that Balūci belongs to the group which has hitherto been called the Eastern Iranian. When one considers, however, that the Osset, Kurdish, and the dialects of Kashan (according to Shukowsky) likewise have the *z*, it becomes evident that the separation into an eastern and a western Iranian group, by reason of this phonetic phenomenon, is altogether wrong: *d* is by no means peculiar to all the western dialects, and in fact its area is exceedingly limited.

On the Ancient Aryan Languages of Asia Minor.

By Professor P. KAROLIDIS.

After giving a general sketch of the Asia Minor branch of the Aryan family of languages, the lecturer drew attention to the meagreness of the existing linguistic material and the scantiness of ancient monuments. He then shows that Jablonski, Heeren and Adelung were in error in considering the river Halys as the boundary between the Semitic and Aryan languages, and the Kappadokian as a Syrian or Assyrian tongue. Also later researches (Lassen, de Lagarde, Gosche, and others) have suffered from the meagreness of material and a certain want of comprehensiveness. The author's own investigations are based on the following principles: after reviewing, sifting and comparing all the statements in the ancient writers regarding the descent and affinities of the peoples of Asia Minor, he applies the rules of modern linguistics to the definite results thus gained, and then draws his final conclusions. There are two questions to be considered — first, what conclusion can with tolerable certainty be drawn from an intercomparison of the old traditions concerning the

origin of the people and languages of Asia Minor? and secondly, what materials does modern research offer to us by which to test that question? how far can those materials be used for scientific investigations? and what final conclusions can be drawn from a combination of these various points?

On Mr. Flinders Petrie's Discoveries in the Fayum.

By Miss A. EDWARDS.

In the general and final meeting of all the Sections under the Presidency of the King at Stockholm, Dr. Cust was permitted to state verbally the purport of a communication made to the Egyptian Section by the celebrated Egyptologist, Miss Amelia Edwards, who, though a member of the Congress, was unable to attend personally, as she had to embark for New York to deliver a course of lectures on Egyptian Exploration in all the chief cities of the United States during the next few months.

The paper related to the discovery, in the neighbourhood of Fayum, in Central Egypt, by Mr. Flinders Petrie, of collections of broken pottery with alphabetic inscriptions. The date of this pottery is attributed approximately, on certain independent evidence, to the time of Menepthah, King of Egypt at the time of the Exodus, and Osertisin II. of a much older date. When the alphabetic signs are examined, they are found to be identical in character with the signs of that famous Græco-Phœnician alphabet, which is the mother of all the alphabets of the world, but in less highly developed and therefore more antique forms. Now the oldest previously existing specimens of the Græco-Phœnician alphabet are the Moabite Stone, about 900 B.C., and the scratchings of their names upon the legs of the great statues at Abu Simbul in Upper Egypt by the soldiers of Psammetichus about 600 B.C. It will be at once perceived how important is a discovery that carries back the use of these alphabetic signs to the time of the Exodus, 1490 B.C., and far beyond. We may well hold our breath for the time, and wait till this bold theory is accepted by the competent authorities of Palæography. It has always been a question as to the alphabet, in which the two tables of stone were written by Moses, as there was no independent evidence of the existence of the Græco-Phœnician alphabet at an earlier date than 900 B.C. This evidence has now been supplied.

On the Geographical Distribution of the different Languages of the Turki Branch of the Ural-Altaic Family of Languages.

By Dr. R. CUST.

The lecturer stated that his paper was printed both in the English and German languages, and widely circulated among scholars, in order that some certainty might be attained for the practical purposes of the translation of the Holy Scriptures. He went over in detail the different languages already known, (1) the Osmanli of the Turkish Empire, (2) the Azerbaijani or Trans-Caucasian of the Province of Trans-Caucasia in Russia and Azerbaijân in Persia, (3) the Kazâni spoken in the Basin of the Volga, (4) the Chuvâsh spoken in the European Provinces of Kazân and Nijni Novgoród, and the Asiatic Province of Orenburg by half a million, (5) the Kumuk spoken on the North-west shore of the Caspian Sea, (6) the Trans-Caspian, (7) the Central Asian or Khiva, (8) the Kirghiz (9) the Yarkandi (10) the Nogai, (11) the Yakut. Until the same exhaustive process was undertaken in Central Asia by Russian scholars, that has been completed in British India and the Indo-Chinese Peninsula by British scholars, no finality could be obtained. Dr. Cust called on the Russian scholars to proceed on the task which they had so well commenced. He mentioned the names of the Academician Radloff, Professor Salemann, Librarian of the Russian Academy, Professor Ilminsky of Kazan, and Professor Ostramoff. He alluded to the meritorious labours of the Rev. Abraham Amirkhanians of the British and Foreign Bible Society, stationed at Orenburg.

Dr. Cust finally insisted on no attempt being made by the State, or by a dominant Religion, to rob a tribe of their ancestral language: the change of a people's vernacular must be the result of the involuntary tendencies of dawning civilization.

On the Watersheep in Chinese Accounts from W. Asia.

By Professor A. G. SCHLEGEL.

Professor G. Schlegel, of the Leyden University, read a paper on the *Shui-yang* or Watersheep in Chinese accounts from Western Asia and the *Agnus Scythicus* or vegetable lamb of the European mediæval travellers; both having been a great puzzle to Chinese and European botanists and zoologists. Two years ago Mr. Henry Lee wrote a very interesting book in order to prove that by the vegetable lamb nothing else was meant but the cotton plant. Mr. Schlegel, however, showed that although the watersheep of the Chinese accounts presented the greatest analogy with the vegetable lamb, the former still exhibited many features incompatible with the growth of the cotton plant. He therefore suggested that the legend of sheep growing out of the ground like plants, took its origin in miscellaneous notices of the way of training camels in Persia, combined with the way of growing the cotton plant and butchering the living sheep in order to get the wool of the unborn lamb, of which the so called Astrakan wool is prepared.

In Persia the young camels are kept during a long period after their birth in a kneeling position, with the legs tied down under the belly, in order to accustom them afterwards to kneel before being loaded. They are guarded against the wolves and other rapacious animals by a circular or square enclosure or wall, presenting to the looker-on at a distance the aspect of a field in which sheep grow out of the ground.

As is well known, the finest stuffs in Persia are woven from the hair of the camel; and it is these stuffs which were imported at a very early period into China, under the name of Hai-si-pu, "cloth of the Western countries," or "cloth of the down of the Watersheep."

The Tomb Inscriptions on the Upper Yenisei

By Professor O. DONNER.

The first who directed the attention of savants to certain peculiar inscriptions on ancient tombs on the banks of the river Yenisei was the Swedish officer Strahlenberg, who was taken prisoner at Poltava in 1709 and transported to Siberia. There he made himself acquainted with the country and its population, and after his return from captivity elaborated a valuable description of the northern and eastern portions of Europe and Asia, which was published in 1730, and contained *inter alia* the pictures of two tombstones with inscriptions in a language and alphabet altogether unknown. Later on several others of the same kind were published by Pallas and Klaproth and some Russian savants, without, however, a sufficient clue to that interesting script having been discovered. In 1877 the chemist Martinow founded a natural history museum at Minusinsk, and from that date several more tombstones covered with that kind of writing were collected, so that at present the number of them is eight.

On the banks of the Yenisei numerous bronze objects have been found in tombs; they differ in form from those found in other parts, and prove the existence of an Altaic bronze age. In many respects a connection is traceable between these and the bronze objects found in the neighbourhood of Perm, by means of which the Finnic tribes are brought into contact with the Altaic bronze age. The Finnish Archæological Society at Helsingfors thereupon resolved to send, during the last three summers, expeditions to Siberia under the State Archæologist, Professor Aspelin, to take trustworthy copies of the inscriptions, those previously published not being sufficiently accurate. In two summers the expedition took 32 copies, and these have now been published for the Congress.

Even in the last century people were struck with the European appearance of the inscriptions, as well as with the resemblance of some of the letters to the runes, and they gave them this very name. In the opinion of the learned Tychsen (1786) this script had to be connected with the old Greek form four or five hundred years before Christ, when it was still written from right to left. A. Rémusat attributed it to the people called U-sun by the Chinese, Klaproth and Castren to the Kirgiz, while Yadrintsev, Klements and Radloff consider the inscriptions to be older than the Hakases, and as consequently belonging to pre-Christian times. Last summer a Chinese coin of the Emperor Vou-tsoung (841-6 A.D.) of the Tang Dynasty was found, on the smooth side of which two words in Siberian characters were engraved. Similar coins, but without those characters, have been discovered in great numbers, most of them belonging to the same century, several of the seventh, and one of the year 118 B.C. This proves that the Yenisei alphabet must still have been in use about the middle of the ninth century. The bronze age, however, represented by it reaches far back into the preceding time for many centuries.

The writing presents some eighty different shapes or characters. In its exterior arrangement the script agrees with that in vogue among the non-Semitic tribes in Asia Minor and Greece about four or five centuries before Christ. An examination of the characters leads up to the same result, there being corresponding forms to most of them in the alphabets of Asia Minor derived from the Greek system of writing. It is more especially the Lycian and Karian alphabets which present most analogies. Among the characters which differ from these, we note several which agree with similar ones in the Egyptian syllabary. There occurs also a form, which to all outward appearance has its exact counterpart only in the Açoka alphabet. Taking all these circumstances together, we can well understand how this script has come to be compared to the northern runes or the Iberian writing. Among the words, an interpretation of which I believe I have found, is *abagha*, which occurs several times in five inscriptions. But this word happens to occur, not only in Mongol, but also in Yakut, with the meaning of 'uncle,' 'father's brother.' It will, therefore, be necessary for us to await further attempts at decipherments as to language and script. The revision of the inscriptions on the basis of the new impressions taken by the members of the expedition last summer, will no doubt greatly contribute to facilitate this work.

On the Language and Customs of the People of Hunza.

BY DR. LEITNER.

The Hunza language, Dr. Lietner pointed out, is one of a class in which nouns can only be conceived of in connection with a possessive pronoun. There is, e.g., no abstract word for "head," "wife," "house," but there are separate words for "my head," "his wife," "our house," etc. He drew attention to the important results to be derived from a philological analysis of this language, for which ample materials will shortly be available. The Hunzas are Muhammadans only by name; witches and fairies play a prominent part in their social and administrative arrangements. Most Hunzas are Mulais, and their head is Prince Aga Khan of Bombay. They are connected with the Druses of the Lebanon. Their sacred book is the *Kalâm-i-pîr*, of the contents of which the lecturer gave some interesting specimens.

On the Linguistic Position of the Languages of Australia.

BY DR. H. SCHNORR VON CAROLSFELD.

The languages of the Australian continent have hitherto been either considered as isolated, or they have been classed with certain African, with the Dravidian, and recently also with the Kolarian languages. It is not our present purpose to discuss these various hypotheses, as they do not rest on a firm basis, and are not affected by the following exposition. The plausible assumption of a connexion between the Australian languages and

those of New Guinea and the Melanesian dialects has hitherto been considered as erroneous on account of the contrast subsisting between both groups as to the formation of words, the former generally using suffixes for that purpose, while the latter use prefixes. That contrast, however, need by no means have been an original one, but may in both groups have been evolved in the course of their historical development. The greater, therefore, is the significance that must be attributed to the numerous coincidences in the vocabulary which can be proved in both groups.

In another of the meetings Dr. Ginsburgh described the features and characteristics of the New "Massoretico-Critical Text of the Hebrew Old Testament," and Dr. Bullinger presented each member of the section with a specimen copy of the first sixteen pages. Nearly two hundred of these were thus distributed. One was specially prepared for presentation to the King, which he graciously accepted. Great interest was manifested by all the members present, and some of the greatest savants took part in most friendly criticism.

A short statement was made by M. Cordier, of a paper on "Central Asia," by M. Nocentini, which will shortly appear in the columns of the *Revista Europa*, or the *Journal of the Italian Asiatic Society*. The paper gives an account of the travels of M. Nissi, who was Japanese Minister in Russia, in Central Asia. M. Nissi left St. Petersburg in 1880, and went *via* Orenburgh, Tashkend, Samarcand, Khokand, Kuldja, and so on, through Siberia, reaching Tokio in 1881. The journey may, perhaps, be compared with that of Tu Li-Shen, a Chinese diplomate, who, in 1712, went from Peking to the Caspian Sea. M. Cordier then read a paper on the "History of the Swedish Company in the East in the Eighteenth Century," from a brochure he has recently published on the subject. The story was a very interesting one, though very unfortunate for the Swedish adventurers who took part in it, as they were considerably despoiled by both the English and the French Companies in India. It showed, likewise, that England has something to thank Sweden for in obtaining a hold on India. M. Boell then gave a short discourse on the Chinese word "Shang-ti," which has been the cause of so much wrangling as to whether it means God as we know the term. He was of opinion that the real word to represent the God of Christian nations was "Tien-ti," an opinion which was shared by Professor Schlegel and M. Cordier. It will be remembered that the Pope, by a bull, accepted Shang-ti from the Roman Catholics as the equivalent of God; amongst Protestant missionaries the term to be used still forms the arena of much controversy. M. Boell read a Paper on the "Transliteration of Chinese Words," which differs somewhat from the system now generally in vogue. Professors Cordier and Schlegel took exception to the speaker's views and were in favour of Sir Thomas Wade's orthography.

Dr. Harlowick of Warsaw, read a paper on "System and Method in Mythological Inquiries for the grouping of facts." Mythology is but a primitive philosophy, and if this fact be admitted, certain consequences will follow, and facts should be arranged in mythology as in philosophy. He considered that this had not been attended to in existing treatises. Dr. Hunfaloy of Buda-Pest read an interesting paper on the Gypsies of Hungary and Transylvania. They arrived in Hungary in the year 1417, and their language retains traces of the country whence they came; they are still partly nomad, and have resisted all attempts of the Government to control them; phrenologically they shew indications of an Egyptian origin, but their language points to India.

M. de Tsagarelli described his visit to the convents of Mt.

Sinai and Mt. Athos, and the manuscripts which he managed to secure, dating as far back as the eighth century of the Christian era, on papyrus, parchment and paper. He particularly alluded to MSS. in the Georgian language. He brought home copies of forty inscriptions, and copies of wall paintings. Prof. Van der Lith of Leyden made a communication on the subject of a book lately published by him known as the *Kitab ajaib al Hind*, "the Book of the Marvels of India." It contains accounts of Arab and Persian navigators of about 1,000 A. D. which have an interest to the students of ancient geography. They are full of what are known as "Travellers' Stories."

Professor Halery of Paris gave an account of the state of Palestine previous to the Hebrew immigration. A few years ago this was a sealed book, but the late discoveries of Egyptian and Assyrian tablets, have let an unexpected light into the circumstances of the unhappy province of Syria, which was situated betwixt these kingdoms. It is more than probable that the Philistines were Egyptians settled on the Mediterranean coast, and deriving their strength from Egypt.

Professor Amslineau of Paris made an important communication on the subject of the transcription of hieroglyphics into Roman characters. He spoke also upon the Inscriptions of Wadi Hamámat, and the Poetical Remains of the Copts. The authors were Christian, but made use of old Egyptian models.

The Rev. Abraham Amirkhanianz gave an interesting account of the characteristics of the Central Asia, or Uzbek form of the great Turki language. His residence at Orenberg under a sentence of exile from the Russian Government, had enabled him to study this language with a view of translating the Holy Scriptures into it. He is an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, an Armenian by origin, but a Protestant educated at the Basel College.

The above account does not pretend to be exhaustive : such as it is, it has been gleaned from English, French, and German accounts of the congress in anticipation of the official report, which will appear in due time. Some communications which are not noticed were on purely scholastic subjects, others brief notices of books. It may be gathered that the business laid before the congress was worthy of the Assembly, but unfortunately there was not sufficient room for discussion and exchange of thought, which is of the essence of a good conference of competent critics. The great desire was to let the unfortunate authors have a chance of delivering their message before the hour came for a start to some place of amusement. In fact, some indignant members refused to read their papers, being told curtly by the General Secretary, that he could only spare them ten minutes to develop a subject which required a

much longer time. This is but another instance of the strong unsympathetic whip held over the members from the first to the last hour, and which some independent scholars will not run the risk of incurring again. Some celebrated men, as already notified, were absent from private reasons : it is possible that they may have forwarded communications, which will appear in the official report.

As mentioned above, a day and a half was consumed in unprofitable utterances in different languages, unintelligible to the majority of those who had the misfortune of being present.

His Majesty the King closed the congress (as far as he was concerned, for he did not go to Christiania) with a neat oration in the Latin language. Whatever his Majesty did or said was kindly, well conceived, perhaps rather poetic and dignified : I give the very words :—

‘ Hoc octavo Congressu orientalium scientiarum et linguarum
 “ nunc Holmiæ Stockholm) claudendo, justum et sequum cen-
 “ seo vobis omnibus, illustrissimum hospites, examino gratias
 “ optimas agere non meo solum nomine, sed etiam civium meorum
 “ omnium, qui hic adsunt, ob dies memorabiles inter omnes hic
 “ perætos, quorum tantæ partes ipsi fuistis : necnon omnia quæ
 “ bona, fausta, ac felicia sint, vobis in fortunum optare votis
 “ meis sinceris, fervidisque. Valete ! Dixi!! ”

And so the congress at Stockholm ended : the minds of the members of the congress were much divided on some subjects, but on this one point they were united to a man, *viz.*, a feeling of respect and admiration and gratitude to His Majesty. I had the honour on the following Monday, of a private interview with both their Majesties for the purpose of presenting to the Queen a copy of the Holy Scriptures forwarded by the British and Foreign Bible Society, in return for the great kindness and interest always manifested by their Majesties in the distribution of the Bible in the different languages of their kingdom.

The final dinner of the assembled congress, exceeding four hundred, took place in the evening at the Grand Hotel. The General Secretary, Count Landberg paid the entire expense : each guest had a menu, prepared at great cost, in nineteen languages, consisting of poems composed by different scholars in praise of different viands : in Egyptian, Akkadian, Assyrian, Sanscrit, Syriac, Arabic, Chinese, Ethiopian, Malay, Hebrew, Manchæe, Javanese, Turkish, Copt, Himyarite, Bihari, Japanese, Jagotai-Turki, German. This was a fair type of the whole congress, costly, showy, unscientific, where everything was done to attract uncritical admiration and wonder, rather than promote science and research. Owing to the immense number, there was rather a scramble, and later at night, the whole body went

off in two special trains to Christiania, where there were three additional days of banquetting, and life at Stockholm became endurable to those who wisely went no further.

I now come to the last sub-division of my narrative, the sinister outlook for the future. In his opening address Count Landberg uttered words which escaped notice at the time:

"J'aurai l'honneur de vous exposer plus en detail a Christiania le genre de la nouvelle direction, qu'il faudrait *selon moi* donner a nos Congres." In fact he had the conceit to propose to fashion all future congresses after his ideal: on the last day of the congress at Stockholm, his plan was brought forward, bitterly opposed, and the matter deferred till the last day at Christiania. At that place he was again outvoted, and, as no application from any other country had been received, a Committee was appointed, consisting of four surviving Presidents of past congresses, whose duty it was to coopt an additional four to represent the eight countries of France, Great Britain, Russia, Italy, Germany, Leyden, Austria, and Sweden. As there was only a dummy President of the Sweden Congress, the Chief Secretary was elected to represent that congress. Unfortunately Baron von Kremer, the much respected President of the Vienna Congress, died, thus reducing the number from four to three, and no steps up to January 1890 have been taken to coopt the additional members. Deep dissatisfaction was aroused in France and Great Britain: rumours were circulated that Count Landberg wished to have the next congress at Constantinople or Cairo, at which last place he was the Swedish Consul-General. It was reported that an Institute was to be formed, of which King Oscar was to be perpetual patron, and Count Landberg perpetual Secretary, and that their duty would be to decide who was, and *who was not* a scholar, worthy of admission to membership of the congress. The Royal Asiatic Society addressed the Committee of the Swedish Congress, begging that a representative of Great Britain might be added to the Committee above alluded to, with whom would rest the date and place of the next congress.

To hold a congress in a period less than three years would be very undesirable: a term of four or five years would be more suitable. To hold the congress beyond the limits of Christian Europe, or at Washington, or Constantinople, or Cairo, would effectually exclude the army of poor, but earnest students, whose presence is so important. In Europe, Lisbon, Madrid, Geneva, Munich and Leipzig, would be most suitable, if the old, simple and severe methods were returned to. Failing this, there is no choice but to return to the old rota of the eight capitals which have already received the

congress. To Paris, no German scholar would willingly resort. In London there will be great difficulties. There is no doubt a necessity to exclude outsiders, but when it becomes known to that class, that there is nothing to eat, and no special trains and garden parties, they will not present themselves: at any rate a Committee of selection in each country should be trusted with the duty of issuing the tickets, and some general definition of what constituted a fitness for membership might be formulated for their guidance: students, scholarly men, and men interested in oriental subjects, though not themselves scholars, should not be excluded. Perhaps, on the Continent, the professional element is too strong, and the general public insufficiently represented.

ROBERT CUST.

January 1890.

ART. XV.—THE BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

THE constitution of the Civil Service is a subject so intimately concerning the general public, that I make no apology for discussing it in the pages of a Review not altogether devoted to Service interests. It is now some years since the experiment was tried of dividing the Service into two separate branches, the Executive and the Judicial. Formerly promotion ran from Joint Magistrate to Collector, from Collector to Judge, thence to a Commissioner or the High Court. For some reason or other that system was supposed not to be sound, and it was decided that after ten years' service, a junior Civilian should elect the branch of the Service he would take up, and to that branch he had to adhere.

Thus promotion now runs from Joint Magistrate to Judge or Collector, according to the choice made by the officer after his tenth year of service. I do not purpose discussing the question from a Civilian's point of view as to whether promotion is benefitted by the change, or whether one line has an undue advantage over another. Such subjects only affect one class and do not interest the public. The question under consideration now is, whether the change has been good for the service as a Service, and as such, has benefitted the administration of the country. I think that it can be shewn that it has not.

The great idea underlying the change was, of course, that men having selected the Judicial line would make law their special study and come to the Judicial Bench as trained lawyers. I do not know whether the converse was thought of, and that it was contemplated that those who chose the executive would begin a sort of "d—the legality" study, and cultivate a rooted aversion to the High Court, its ways and works: in fact, so to speak, into training for a life-long conflict with that august body. Now the question is—has the change given us a better set of Judges, and has it generally benefitted the administration? It has, most undoubtedly, done much to injure the *esprit de corps* of the Service. Account for it how we may, there is a feeling, not of hostility between the two branches, but a sort of an idea that the Judicial and Executive are two distinct Services, and do not form the one brotherhood that the old Civil Service used to boast itself to be. Nor is this to be wondered at. A Judge, it is well known, has powers which enable him to review and criticise the magisterial work of a

Collector. and a Collector on the other hand has the power of generally sitting on a Joint Magistrate. Now these two positions may be reversed between the same two men. A Joint Magistrate may be promoted to an acting Judgeship, and have the supreme pleasure of criticising the work of his Collector, from whom a week before he was receiving orders, or, an officiating Judge may revert to a Joint Magistrate, and then it becomes the Collector's turn to pay him out, if he feels so disposed, for any too caustic remarks passed on his work by the Judge when clothed with a little brief authority. Temporary promotion is just at present so good, that this is no exaggerated picture. The youngest officiating Judges and Collectors are of 11 years service at present, but they have acted more than once, within the last few years, or in other words had their district charges either as Judge or Collector at about 8 years service, and since then have been reverting, and been promoted as furlough vacancies occurred, and will probably revert and be promoted for some years to come until they get their substantive appointments. Now it cannot be held that this feeling of separation between members of the same Service is a good thing for the Service itself, and it cannot therefore be good for the general administration of the country. It is only human nature for a senior officer to feel put out by having a comparative boy put over his head to criticise his judicial work. I know of one instance where a Collector of nearly 30 years service had for his judicial lord and master a boy of 8 years service. In the same manner I have known a senior Judge, who had by chance lost his district for a couple of months in the cold weather, having to request the permission of a man, years his junior, to absent himself from the station during a short holiday. These may seem sentimental grievances and trifles, but life is made up of sentiment and trifles: the conditions of life in India are irksome enough without adding to their unpleasantness. But apart from the sentimental part of the business, let us consider the training which a man got under the old system and that which he gets under the present. It is a popular fallacy to suppose that any officer really learns much until he becomes an independent power himself. Of course he is in a *state* of learning, but the lesson is not complete until he has to take action and stand or fall by that action on his own responsibility. A Joint Magistrate, or even a Sub-Divisional officer has always his Collector to whom he can appeal in any question of difficulty, and Government holds the Collector responsible and not the subordinate officer in case anything goes wrong; there is, therefore, not that sense of working off his own bat, until an officer is in charge of a district, and is held personally liable for its proper administration.

I think few will gainsay the proposition that the exercise of independent responsible authority is a good training for every man. It will also, I think, be admitted that the responsibilities of a Collector far and away exceed those devolving on a Judge. The work of the latter is chiefly appellate and Sessions. In his appellate work his cases come up prepared for him, and he has, in most stations, a decently educated bar to assist his deliberations in his Session's work: the jury or assessors, as the case may be, relieve him at any rate in the first instance of the onus of coming to a finding. He may, of course, have to differ from them, and refer a case, but such instances are exceptional. In fact, as Sir George Campbell described it—"ease, dignity and independence" are the charms of a judicial life. There may be dignity, but there is very little ease or independence in the life of a Collector. He is supposed to know every thing under the sun that shines on his district, and to be able to report on all sorts and conditions of men and things, from the habits of the Gangetic porpoise up to the antecedents and history of some starving beggar who may have strayed from God knows where into his district and there lain down and died. His habits of observation and his digestion of information must be cultivated to the highest degree if he will administer his district as Government expects it to be administered, and no Collector is worth his salt who has not some skill and tact in ruling men. The police alone require that. (I use the word Collector to distinguish the office from that of Judge: it of course connotes the Magistrate as well.)

Now without saying one word other than that of praise as regards the junior judiciary, I would suggest that the officers who comprise it, would not have been any the worse for having gone through the more varied experience afforded by a turn at Collectorate work. It is on the other hand well known, that most of our greatest Commissioners and men who afterwards rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Governor, have been through both the Executive and Judicial lines.

Another experiment in favour of a reversion to the old system is, that from the very nature of his work, a Joint-Magistrate who becomes a Judge must be more or less ignorant of Revenue law. It is true that some years before, "with trouble and heavy sorrow" he has passed in Law, that is to say, read up for an examination a number of Acts and Regulations which, in the ordinary course of years, he has forgotten, never having been called to put them in practice. There is not a district of which I am aware, in which the time of the Joint-Magistrate can be spared from criminal work. The Collector rarely tries criminal cases himself, and except for general supervision the Joint-Magistrate is, to all intents and purposes the Magistrate of the district, the Collector and his Deputies

doing all the Revenue work, so that beyond a strong knowledge of the Criminal Codes, a Joint-Magistrate comes to the Bench ignorant of Revenue law. An attempt was made some years ago to train judicial Joint-Magistrates in Civil law by giving them powers of Moonsiffs and Sub-Judges. I am not aware whether the experiment has been abandoned or not, but it would seem so, as the last Quarterly Civil List does not shew these officers as vested with Civil powers; and when the experiment was tried, these powers were noted against the names of Joint-Magistrates wherever they exercised them. The experiment carried the germs of failure in it, for, under that system, a man was serving two masters. The Judge sending him Civil work and blaming him for delay, and the Magistrate sending him Criminal and Police work, and expecting that to take precedence over all other business. At present, therefore, the Joint-Magistrate who is pitchforked on to the Bench to review the work of the Magistracy and that of the subordinate Civil Courts, has not had much opportunity of studying even Civil law. That, however, is not of so much importance, as with a strong Bar and ordinary application, an intelligent officer can soon fit the law to the case.

The old system also had this advantage: when a Collector was promoted to be a Judge, he had come to a time of life when his particular forte was established. If he still retained his old energy and a taste for field sports, his aspirations would tend to a Commissionership. Now a Commissionership entails a vast deal of quasi judicial work. There is an immense amount of appellate (Revenue) work connected with it, and no man would be the worse Commissioner for a few years spent as a Judge.

If, on the other hand, a man felt he had outgrown his tastes for an active out-door life, and that he had begun to look on camping as a bore and wished for the quiet of a station life, he would end his service peacefully as a Judge if he did not aspire to the dignity of the High Court. The new system has now had a fair trial, and it remains to be considered whether it has been the unqualified success that its authors prophesied that it would be. In my humble opinion it has not shewn those great results which would justify its taking the place of a system under which our greatest administrators were produced. It has certainly caused a latent feeling of separation between the two branches and a want of community of interest in Service questions, which marked, to a strong degree, the Service as it used to be. It has, moreover, rendered it possible for senior men to have their work revised by juniors whom a few months before they were themselves possibly instructing.

T. K.

THE QUARTER.

THE past three months have been singularly uneventful, and India may be reckoned happy in having no history to record. The Chin Lushai expedition pursues its onward course. Its history might be copied with a change of names from that of any of our N. E. Frontier expeditions. Prince Albert Victor has had an enjoyable trip, and his visit must have been a god-send to some of our daily papers, which have detailed every movement of the young Prince with faithful accuracy. Whether the readers of those papers followed their accounts is a matter for speculation. The only other sensational event was the trial and conviction of O'Hara for the Dum-Dum murder, and the appeal preferred against the sentence of death passed upon him by Mr. Justice Norris, which appeal resulted in an acquittal. At home the chief sensations were the squabble with Portugal, which nearly landed us in a war with that little State. It would have been a case of—

Si rixa est, ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum.

The report on the Parnell Commission seems to have given universal satisfaction. The Parnellites claim an acquittal all along the line, and the Unionist journals are equally satisfied that it is a moral conviction of the Irish Party on the charge of being connected with crime : so every one is happy. Peace prevails on the Continent, and nothing occurred to break the dull monotony of events. A case of great importance to the officers of the army has been decided at home, *viz.*, that of Mitchell *vs.* Regina. It has been held by Mr. Justice Mathew, that officers have no rights whatever as against the War Office. The law, no doubt, has been properly interpreted but it places officers in the army in the unenviable position of being the only class of Her Majesty's subjects who have no right of appeal against any injury they may deem themselves to have suffered. It is not to be supposed that they will allow another Parliament to close its sitting without an attempt being made to rectify this state of things. With these exceptions the quarter has been uneventful and requires no further notice.

EDITOR.

The 18th March 1890.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Reports on the working of Municipalities in Bengal during the year 1888-89.

FROM the Government Resolution on the working of Municipalities in Bengal during 1888-89, we learn that there were 147, against 141 in the preceding year; that the system under which two-thirds of the total number of Commissioners fixed for each Municipality are popularly elected, was in force in four-fifths of them; that the Municipality of Hazaribagh having been granted the elective franchise, general elections were, for the first time, held in that town, with the result that some two-fifths of the registered electors attended the poll and recorded their votes; and, by the representative two-fifths, "a fair amount of interest is said to have been shown." Of 52 bye elections, held under section 27, only one failed, through non-attendance of voters at the poll, and only three, owing to nominations not having been submitted within the time prescribed by the rules. "These minor elections appear to have excited no particular interest."

The largest number of meetings held by any Municipality was 37, by the Debhatta Municipality with an average attendance of 45 per cent. of the members, against 31 with an average attendance of 43·3 per cent. in the previous year. The Jugdispore and Motihari Municipalities held the smallest number of meetings, *viz.*, 5, with an average attendance of 75·5 per cent. and 60 per cent. of the members, respectively, against two meetings held by the former Municipality and 7 by the latter during 1887-88.

There were no Municipal benches in any of the Municipalities in the Chota Nagpore and Orissa Divisions. Considerable increases of income resulted from revisions of assessments in Patna, Mozufferpore, Motihari, and Madhubani in the Patna Division, Rungpore and Nattore in the Rajshahye Division, and Midnapore in the Burdwan Division. In Darjeeling there was a decrease owing to a reduction of the rate. In Dacca a revision of assessment begun in 1886-87 was, owing to the

numerous objections raised, only finally completed in the year under report. In the final result the demand has been raised from Rs 52,428 to Rs. 71,571, or by 36·5 per cent., against an increase of 20 per cent., which was expected when the revision was undertaken. The Magistrate still considers that some increase of taxation which might legitimately have been demanded has been sacrificed owing to disunion among the Municipal Commissioners. The average incidence of taxation throughout Bengal increased from 12 annas and 7·3 pie per head during 1887-88, to 13 annas and 1·4 pie during 1888-89. It was, as in the previous year, highest in the Municipality of Darjeeling, where it amounted to Rs. 4-4-9, and lowest, annas 2 per head in the Municipalities of Ramjibanpore, Jehanabad, and Sitamarhi.

The provisions of the Hackney Carriage Registration Act were extended to the Municipalities of Nasirabad and Patna. The conservancy and other provisions of Part VI of the Act, or portions of them, were extended during the year to 21 Municipalities. Part IX, dealing with latrines, was extended to 11; and rules for the protection of wild birds and game were framed by the Kurseong Municipality under Act XX of 1887, and confirmed by the local Government: for which sportsmen should be grateful to the Kurseong conscript fathers. Bazitpore in Mymensingh has an eye to business, and has extended its boundaries, so as to include certain adjacent tracts which, while enjoying the benefits of Municipal administration, failed to see the fun of paying for it. Some people in Jajpore (Cuttack) were similarly obtuse, and similarly bewail their luck, in that their amenability to civic impositions has been found out. On the other hand certain agricultural villages have been excluded from the limits of the Tangail Municipality; and in the Soory Municipality, an agricultural village has been blessed by expulsion.

It is noted that during the past four years there has been a rapid increase in Municipal revenues. 1888-89 can show a total income of Rs. 22,35,044 against Rs. 19,93,461 in 1885-86. The increase is principally derived from conservancy cess and property and house tax; none of them popular levies, though all of them very legitimate ones it seems to us. The revenue items which have shown a tendency to decrease, are tolls on roads and ferries, income from markets, and payments for Municipal service rendered to individuals. The first denotes progress, the others need not be deplored. During the past year the total Municipal revenue shows an increase of Rs. 1,27,135. We note that unnecessary difficulty in comparing the receipts in different years has been occasioned by divergence of classification in local reports, and attention of Commissioners of Divisions is invited to the matter.

It is found convenient to consider *Loans* and *Sanitation* under the same heading, and to lay down as an axiomatic truth, that it is impossible to improve the sanitary condition of Municipalities without spending money ; it is therefore notified that the policy of the Government of India in regard to loans to Municipalities is now so far modified, that funds will *henceforward* be placed at the disposal of the Local Government *with due consideration to available resources* and the demands presented. (The italics are ours.) This notification was however, published too late to have any effect in the year under review, and even for the current year, there was no time to prepare detailed estimates. It follows, therefore, that during the past year, no loans were made to municipalities by Government, and for the present year a lump sum of Rs. 50 000 only has been sanctioned. The estimates now under submission to the Government of India for the years 1890-91 show a great increase, and amount to Rs. 12 40,000.

One loan was, however, raised by a municipality during the past year in the open market. The Commissioners of the Bhagulpore Municipality raised a loan of Rs. 50 000 on account of water-works, offering interest at 6 per cent. Ten tenders were received, varying from Rs. 94 to 101 and covering the loan five times over. Rupees 45,000 were allotted at par, and Rs. 5 000 at a premium of one rupee. This result the Lieutenant-Governor considers to be highly satisfactory, and he congratulates the Commissioners on the result of their enterprise.

It is held that, on the whole, Municipalities in Bengal have not been inattentive to the instructions contained in the letter from the Government of India, No. 95, of 30th July 1887 to devote themselves, in a more systematic manner, to the prosecution of sanitary measures. The new Sanitary Board, which it is hoped will be constituted without delay, will, it is hoped, be a great aid to them in the furtherance of such measures. It is written, and well and statesmanlike written in this connection :—

It is in regard to water supply and drainage that Municipalities should be urged to apply for loans under the rules now sanctioned. But it must be understood once for all, that the Government will not contribute from Provincial funds in aid of such works. The Municipalities concerned must be prepared to repay both capital and interest from their own expanding revenues or from special rates raised for the purpose. Good water and good drainage cannot be obtained in any city for nothing, and the cost of defraying such sanitary improvements must be met in future by the Municipal rate-payers, and can no long be defrayed, either in whole or in part, as has sometimes been done in the past, by funds levied by Government from the general public. It is precisely, in matters of this kind, that the distinction in the appropriation of funds raised by Provincial and local taxation should be rigidly enforced.

If Local Self-Government in Bengal is ever to eventuate in anything beyond vain and vainglorious platform speechifying,

it must have some genius for self-help and self-respect somehow developed for it.

With reference to the maintenance of Hospitals and Dispensaries Sir Steuart Bayley's Resolution says :—

The progressive increase observable is not unsatisfactory ; but the Lieutenant-Governor would be glad to see a still larger outlay under these heads. Municipal Commissioners in Bengal must not forget that in 1882, municipalities were relieved by Government of police charges amounting to about four lakhs of rupees, in return for which they accepted the charges for Medical institutions and Education. These charges are still much less than those of which they were relieved, and a special obligation therefore rests on them to augment their expenditure.

In the 1888-89 Report on Municipal contributions towards the maintenance of Schools, the Municipalities claim to have paid Rs. 1,24,866 with this object ; Sir Alfred Croft says they only paid Rs. 85,937. In the face of such an uncertainty, the orthodox English plan is to bet ; we for our part incline to back Sir Alfred. It is reported by most Commissioners that Municipal educational grants are, as a rule, devoted to the maintenance of English education ; “ and where the grants are large to English schools, it is too often found that primary education is entirely neglected,” so that education, in short, is regarded just as any other trade investment would be.

The provisions of the Pilgrims Lodging House Act were extended to Sitakhund in the Chittagong district, and to Chandbally. At the latter port some 4,000 pilgrims are said to land every month.

Sir Steuart Bayley sums up :—

It is clear that good and honest work is being done in Municipalities. Expenditure is annually increasing, large and important works of drainage and water-supply have been taken in hand, and are in various stages of progress, while in all departments there are signs of improved administration, and of the active interest taken by Municipal Commissioners in the duties entrusted to them. On the other hand, the failings which are inseparable from the working of all such local bodies are conspicuously evident. Personal jealousies and party strife are too common, and operate very prejudicially to the public welfare ; there is a tendency on the part of Municipal Commissioners to benefit themselves and their own class to the exclusion of the poorer members of the community ; there is a not unnatural reluctance, or timidity it may be called, in embarking on schemes of improvement until the necessity for expenditure has at last been forced upon the Municipality by outside pressure ; there is an absence of that practical attention to details which can only be acquired by long experience in administrative work. These are deficiencies which time alone will remedy, but the results of the past year show that decided progress, slow in some places, but comparatively rapid in others, has been made. Municipalities, not less than District Boards, are in need of systematisation, and the remarks which have lately been recorded by the Lieutenant-Governor on the working of District Boards during the past year, are equally applicable to Municipal institutions. It appears that the establishment of a Local Government Board, somewhat on the lines originally contemplated, will soon become an administrative necessity in this province.

Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies, for the year 1888-89.

AS the outcome of the special enquiry into the material condition and food supply of the poorer classes in the Punjab, the Report before us states that it has been ascertained, that only in the case of the menial castes, poorer classes of tenants, and then only in unusual years, is there any reason to believe that the standard of sustenance is apt to fall dangerously low. Regarding the miscellaneous public works, we are informed that the Patiala Bhatinda Railway was completed, and its extension from Bhatinda to Bahawalpur is under consideration. It is intended that the branch of the Western Jumna canal, to be taken across the mouth of the Hissar district towards Sirsa, shall pass through Patiala territory, and that State should bear its proportionate share in the cost of the work. The construction of a bridge over the Sutlej at Suni, of which half the cost was borne by the Rájah of Suket, and the Rana of Bhajji is noticed as a public work of some importance. Good progress is recorded as being made in inducing Native States to adopt measures for the preservation of their forests.

The usual history of the frontier expeditions and their results is also given, with the moral that the tribesmen have promised better behaviour in the future.

Some administrative inconvenience was caused by "absorption" of many officers for Settlement work, but financial considerations required that the introduction of revised assessments should be effected with as little delay as possible. Tribute is paid to the memory of Colonel Wace, the late senior Financial Commissioner ; once Settlement Commissioner.

The Punjab Courts Act of 1884 was amended by Act XXII of 1888. The object of the amendment was to enable the Chief Court to deal more expeditiously with its accumulated arrears and to prevent their accumulation in future, and to relieve Divisional Courts of some appellate business. The powers of Chief Court Judges sitting singly have been increased, and the right of appeal in certain civil cases has been restricted, and the Local Government has been given powers to appoint Additional Divisional or Additional District Judges in cases in which the business pending requires the aid of an additional officer for its speedy disposal.

There were fewer murders than usual ; but the tale of other crimes increased—and shows signs of increasing. A large number of bad characters were put on security to be of good behaviour. Special prosecutors, augmentation of the Police Force, and surveillance of habitual offenders, are the remedies contemplated. Of the jail population 69·9 per cent were Mahomedans, and 29·8

per cent. Hindus (including Sikhs). The last census figures give the Province 10,500,000 Mahomedans and 7,000,000 Hindus. Meanwhile, extensions of the system of central jails is being pushed forward as rapidly as the provision of funds at the disposal of the local Government will allow.

The number of civil suits instituted was higher than in any of the preceding three years. Courts subordinate to the Chief Court decided 268,174 suits ; and though there was a pending file at the close of the year of 17,799 cases, it is held that this figure "cannot be considered excessive in the face of the large number of disposals" The returns show that year by year Extra Assistant Commissioners and Small Cause Court Judges are doing a smaller, and Munsiffs a larger proportion of the civil work of the Province. A tendency on the part of the Courts to resort year by year, more sparingly to the practice of issuing commissions for local enquiry is pronounced satisfactory. The Courts made moderate use of the discretion given them to award interest on sums decreed, and in only 72 cases was interest so allowed without consent of the judgment-debtor. As in other parts of India, a successful suitor's trouble really begins when he has got his decree. Some 47 per cent. of the decrees, for the execution of which process issued, "proved wholly infructuous." The number of appeals instituted in District Courts rose, "as was to be expected," with the rise in the number of original suits instituted. But the number of appeals instituted in Divisional Courts fell somewhat, owing, it is surmised, to the amendment of the law of appeal effected by the Punjab Courts Act, 1888. The amount of civil business before the Chief Court shows an increase as compared with 1887-88, but is less than it was in the previous year. The Court consisted of six Judges for about eight months of the year, and of five for the remaining four. Nevertheless, accumulated arrears had been but slightly reduced at the year's close.

The most important event of the year, as far as Municipal administration is concerned, was the institution of the Provincial Loan Account. Its importance consists in the opportunity which it affords for the carrying out of sanitary and other projects of local improvement in the large towns of the Province. Municipalities had previously found it practically impossible to provide funds for the execution of water-works, drainage and other schemes, because the Government declined to give them loans from the general revenues, and, on the other hand, the rate of interest charged for loans in the open market was so high, as to be almost prohibitive. This difficulty has now been removed, and it is hoped that by a judicious allotment of the grants annually placed at the disposal of Government

for the purpose in the Provincial Loan Account, it will be possible to carry out some at least of the more important projects of local improvement in the near future. A beginning was made during the year under report by the grant of a loan of Rs. 1,50,000 to the Pashawar Municipality for the construction of water-works estimated to cost some three lakhs of rupees, and similar aid is to be given to water-supply projects in Umballa and Delhi (work on which has been begun) and for completion of drainage works in Ludhiana. Hope is held out that a scheme for sewage will shortly be undertaken in Delhi, and one for water-works in Amritsar.

A tendency towards equalization of prices in the several districts of the Province has been noticeable of late years, a result illustrating the usefulness of railways as a famine preventive agency. We however regret to learn that the trade by land with the countries on the northern and western frontiers of the Province does not, except in the case of Kashmir, show any tendency to expand. The exclusion of Indian merchandise from the marts of Central Asia, and the prohibitive dues exacted by the Amir of Afghanistan, are exercising a prejudicial effect upon the trade with these countries, and it is to be feared that the falling-off in the export of European and Indian cotton goods and tea is likely to become permanent. Export demand for oil seeds has, notwithstanding improved harvests and a larger outturn, considerably enhanced the price of this staple. During the last five years only a slight increase has taken place in the cost of manual labour, and the cost of hiring animals has slightly decreased. The income received from forests during 1888-89 exceeded that of any previous year.

As to Public Works, over and above those named at the commencement of this notice in connection with Native States, we quote from the Report:—

The North-West Frontier Road may now be said to have been completed. During the year 1888-89 more than eleven lakhs of rupees were spent on its construction, making a total expenditure of Rs. 27,52,337. The important bridges over the Kurram and Gambila rivers were finished since the close of the year. The Dera Ghazi Khan-Pishin Road was also practically completed, and the road opened for traffic in September 1888. Certain works connected with the supply of water still remain to be executed. The road from Murree to Kohála on the Jhelum river was opened for wheel traffic during the year, and when the further section which runs through Kashmir territory has been completed, wheel traffic will be able to proceed without a break from Ráwalpindi to Kashmir. Among more important civil buildings, the Chief Court at Lahore, with its subsidiary structures, was finished, as also new Courts at Ráwalpindi for the Divisional and District Judges; several new Munsiff's Courts were completed, and a new Church at Ludháina. Archæological and historical buildings received attention as funds permitted, and up to the end of the year more than Rs. 10,000 had been expended on the restoration of the Emperor Jehángír's tomb at Shahdara, in the neighbourhood of Lahore. Useful additions were made to several jails the most important work being the construction of sixty solitary cells and a workshop for juvenile offenders in the Lahore Central Jail. The extension of the system of Central Jails having been definitely approved, plans have been drawn out for the location of

Central Jails at Ráwalpindi and Montgomery, and it is hoped that work will shortly be commenced for adapting the existing buildings at those places to meet the increased accommodation which will be required. Good progress was made on the Aitchison College at Lahore. two of the three boarding-houses and the Governor's residence being completed.

No new canal was opened during the year. But, from the completed portion of the Chenab canal still under construction, some 47,000 acres were irrigated : a not inconsiderable beginning of fertility, and promise of more. The total area irrigated by all canals was 2,581,734 acres, showing an increase of 331,653 acres as compared with 1887-88, and of 631,094 acres as compared with 1886-87 ; and this increase is distributed over all the canal systems of the Province.

As to Education, there was a large increase in the number of public schools and scholars, and in the proportion of boys in the higher classes of Secondary schools ; and, though the returns show a reduction in the number of indigenous schools, this is entirely due to the exclusion of those containing less than six scholars. The work done by the Lahore Medical school and the Veterinary school is well spoken of.

*Report on the External Land Trade of the Punjab for
the year 1888-89.*

THE Senior Secretary to the Financial Commissioner, Punjab, deserves credit for a painstaking Report on the external land trade of the province, for its unobtrusive modesty, and for its careful discrimination between fact and fad, incidentals, and abiding influences.

Premising that the name Sewestán is one of Alice's carpet bag words, and taken to include the whole country lying between the Bolan Pass and the Derájat, Mr. Johnstone informs us that:—

Into Dera Ismail Khan District the imports rose by about 95,000, but the exports fell by 7½ lakhs of rupees. The latter phenomena is said to be due to quarrels between His Highness the Amír of Kábul and the Nasír Pawindahs, who seem to be the chief carriers in these parts, and also to the political disturbances in Khorasán. The Dera Gházi Khan figures for the last few years show abnormal fluctuations, owing to the great increase of trade during the currency of the works on the Pishín route, not only on the Punjab section, but also on the Lorálai section of the road. During 1885-86, 1886-87, 1887-88, large amounts of materials and supplies were carried up for the workmen on the roads, and also for the troops, and returning workmen brought away with them great quantities of silver coins received as wages. The figures for 1888-89, however, represent for the most part, genuine trade, and in order to realise the effect of the opening up of the Pishín route, the trade of the past year should be compared with that of 1884-85, thus :—

Years.				Imports.	Exports.
				Rs.	Rs.
1884-85	...	...	...	50,164	1,31,544
1888 89	..	...	...	1,96,605	3,55,057

The trade improvement indicated is obvious, and indicative, under improved political conditions, of great possibilities. Its bane is an obstinate clinging to the belief in the beauty and fitness of prohibitive Customs due wherever and whenever quasi-feudal traditions, such as we read of in Walter Scott's tales of raiding in the Debateable Land, are helped by opportunity. The Tiráh trade is accounted of but slight importance; and an increase in cotton goods exported from Kohat is noted. The Deputy Commissioners writes:—

"The Amír of Kábul levies his Customs dues at Khushi, Dabandi and Khost. It is stated that traders from Kábul have to pay duty at one or other of the above places, or in Kábul itself, at the following rates:—

Horses, &c.	...	...	...	Rs.	5 to 20 per animal.
Tobacco	...	...	...	"	10 per camel load.
Raisins	...	...	...	"	10 " "
Ghi	...	...	...	"	14 or 15 "
Indigo	...	...	...	"	25 " "

"As regards exports to Kábul, Rs. 18 is levied by the Amír as import duty on every camel load of cloth of whatever description, while of *jean* (drill), *markin latha* (long cloth), &c., one piece (or *thán*) is taken in every 40 *thans* (pieces) of 40 yards each. A further tax is not levied at Kábul;—

but if goods go on to Ghazni Rs. 8 (Kábuli) are taken per camel load.

Our ally, the Amír of Kabul, believes in approximations to free trade dogma only when receiving subsidies, such as stands of arms, and such like homage from Feringisthan. In the intervals between such receipts, the Kabul trade is surely, though "slowly declining." Mr. Meik, Deputy Commissioner of Peshawur, thinks that a permanent decline in the Central Asian trade must be expected, because of—

- "(a) The heavy Afghán transit dues;
- "(b) The tightening of the Russian Customs Line, and the absorption into the Russian Empire of all Turkománia, and enhancement of the Russian Customs tariff with the express object of excluding foreign goods.
- "(c) Camel-borne goods cannot compete with rail-borne goods; the latter beat the former by cheapness of transport charges and rapidity with which capital invested in them is turned over."

Mr. Curzon, the latest English visitor to Central Asia is cited as authority for a statement, that more than a few pounds worth of British cottons or calicoes are not now to be found in the bazars of Bokhara. These are stocked now with Russian goods and General Komareff, in his latest Report to his Government boasts, that their sale is yearly increasing, while that of English goods are correspondingly diminishing.

As to the Cashmere trade, imports fell below what they were in 1887-88 and 1886-87. Exports, however, show above the average of recent years; and that appears to us a healthy sign, more than counterbalancing any injury Manchester and Brummagem wares may have experienced in popular regard and marketableness:—a wholesomely reactionary sign of self

reliance energy, and prosperity. Kashmir made cottons now it is said go through Jhelum to Hazára, Kohát, Bannu, and Dera Ismail Khan, the abolition of export duties being a potent factor in this expansion of industry and trade. The increase in exports of ghee is attributed to a steadily rising demand in Amritsur, Lahore, and Kurrachee. Again, the Kashmir oil seed supply has generated a demand for it in Europe. Timber bulks less largely than usual in the export returns, thanks to a tardy acceptance of the economies of forestry. The fruit crop in Kashmir was, in the last two years reported on, a good one; Kashmir woollens (pattus and blankets) command a steadily increasing market in the Punjab. About the shawl trade, Major Montgomery writes:—

“This enormous decrease in the import of shawls is due to the fact that the death of the late Maharája of Jammoo and Kashmir, who took a lively interest in his trade, and the unsettled state of affairs in Jammoo since his death, have injuriously affected it. The late Maharája used to advance large sums of money to shawl manufacturers to encourage the manufacture, but such advances have been almost entirely stopped since His Highness's death. It may also be mentioned that the demand for Kashmir shawls is not so great now in Europe and India as it used to be in years past.”

Under the heading “Drugs and Medicines not intoxicating,” the item in which most increase has occurred is *Kút*, the root-stalk of *Aucklandia cestus*. Dr. Aitchison, in his “Trade Products of Leh,” writes, we are reminded, of this product: “It is used for incense, and loads of *Kút* passing along the road are readily recognized by the violet like perfume they give forth.” In Kashmir skins abound; the price of small ones is Rs. 70 per hundred, and Sialkot traders can clear 30 per cent. profit on this: capital is, accordingly, being attracted to the hide and skin trade.

With regard to exports from Kulu to Ladakh it is written:—

In his Report for 1887-88 the Assistant Commissioner of Kulu observed the decrease in the export of Indian tea, and expressed the hope that it implied only a temporary check. Last year, however, it came to his notice—and the rumour was confirmed—that the import of India tea into Yárkand had been forbidden, and that a consignment of Indian tea had been burnt on arrival by the Chinese Government. “A promising trade,” he adds, “has been annihilated.” This interference has been also the cause of the decrease in foreign tea exported. The export of indigo has fluctuated considerably. The export of this, and of many other commodities, is said to vary directly as the amount of charas imported. Brass and copper go to Baltistan, Skárdo, and Zanskár. The export seems to vary in alternate years. The export of Indian cottons is not expanding: it rises and falls in much the same degree as indigo. In European cottons, however, the rise is encouraging, and it is hoped that a firm market is being found for them in Ladakh and Yárkand.

Foreign tea, the price of which is, as a rule, double that of Indian, finds a ready sale in Kabul. As Kabulis are not the sort of people to pay twice as much as they need pay for tea, without good and sufficient reason, it were time our Chambers of Commerce looked to the matter.

*Report on the Administration of the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh,
for the year 1888-89.*

THE red book containing the Administration Report of the N.-W. P. and Oudh for 1888-89, gives an account of the first complete year of Sir Auckland Colvin's tenure of office as Lieutenant-Governor. Railway extensions, and determination of the material condition of the agricultural classes, are its most salient features. On the satisfactory progress of the former His Honor may be congratulated: as to the latter, specific, thoroughgoing, careful enquiries have led to the conclusion, that the people are not generally underfed, though too many of them live, and are obliged to live, from hand to mouth; and when a bad season comes, and the labour market fails, the agricultural classes having no other resources to fall back upon, and needs must suffer, until the hard schoolmaster experience teaches them the uses and values of industrial arts and livelihoods. As aids to learning the lesson, the railway extensions, to which reference has been made, are probably the best correctives at present available.

Act IX of 1889 represents the Legislation of the year under review, by which reversion is made to a discarded arrangement of the fiscal whirligig, and landlords have again to pay putwarries. Their enfranchisement has not been found a satisfactory arrangement, and they are to be made over again to their old masters. The immediate effect of the measure has been to impose on the landlords of the two provinces, a cess of $22\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, "half of which, however, they are entitled to recover from their tenants." But there's the rub. Moreover, the Government Foundry at Roorkee is no longer to be a stumbling block and offence to private traders; and it is resolved that the concern will, in future, have to devote itself chiefly to the execution of Government work, and "private orders and business of all sorts will be of but secondary importance." This is as it should be; it now remains to be seen what advantage private traders will take of their opportunity.

The Allahabad and Agra Water supplies are the engineering triumphs of the year; the Benares Water supply *cum* Drainage scheme it is hoped will reach completion in 1892, by which time the preliminary enquiries prosecuted at Cawnpore may eventuate in something: and, "in course of time, in Lucknow also, when the local authorities, who have for long been conducting experiments, have satisfied themselves that borings for an artesian well are useless, a good supply of pure potable water may be given to the people."

The gross receipts from Income Tax amounted to Rs. 21,60,000 against Rs. 21,30,000 in the preceding year. The

continuance of abnormally high prices of food-grains, and the fact that the year 1887-88, was both unhealthy in itself and considered inauspicious for Hindu marriages, are held to account for a falling off in Excise revenue. Apropos, we note that whereas five years ago, there were 324 Madak and Chandu shops in the N.-W. P. and Oudh, last year there were but 57, "and this number is being steadily reduced." Perhaps, some day or another, Mr. Caine, Mr. Evans, and other gentlemen who are colour blind about an Excise, may be driven, in spite of themselves, to the conclusion that Government is neither the only or the chief factor in the increased and increasing totals of Hindu liquor bills.

The expenditure on Forests decreased by some Rs. 10,000, while receipts increased by more than two lakhs. The total expenditure on Education was Rs. 2,739,514 of which sum the State provided Rs. 1,754,839. The rapid growth of English schools in the hills is noted; and the appointment of a special Government Inspector for grant-in-aid schools there, is under consideration. It is satisfactory, however, to know that since 1885-86, the number attending these schools has risen in the case of boys from 369 to 472, and in that of girls from 186 to 316, of which the largest are St. George's College (141) and St. Fidelis' School (121) at Mussoorie and the Diocesan Boys' School (160) at Naini Tal; for girls Woodstock (102) at Landour, and the Diocesan (82) at Naini Tal.

The deaths from Cholera were 18,704 against 200,628 in the previous year. All kinds of work in connection with Dispensaries increased "in a degree that is without precedent." The Lieutenant-Governor's remarks on the policy proper to be pursued with regard to Sanitation might, it seems to us, be studied with advantage by all who are interested in that subject—and who amongst us is not?

Whatever we may be able to do with regard to the sanitation of towns, the adoption of sanitary measures in villages and the drainage of large tracts of insalubrious country, require in their treatment the greatest possible prudence and large expenditure of money. What at present is to be done is to lay carefully the foundation on which work can be done progressively hereafter, and by means of the establishment of a Board, such as has now been established in these Provinces, and the consideration, in concert with its members, of the measures necessary for sanitary ends, there is reason to hope that the subject will always be kept prominently under notice, and that by degrees the various questions connected with it will be thoroughly considered, and practical measures gradually adopted. The Sanitary Board, in the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor, should be purely a consultative Board, not in any sense of the word executive. Its business should be to survey, to consider, and to advise, to watch the growth of the several sanitary measures which the Government may adopt in compliance with its suggestions, to keep itself well informed through the agency of its several members of the amount of success or otherwise

which such measures meet with, the causes of failure where it exists, and to bring before the Government its conclusions annually on the result of its inquiries.

The native press in the N.-W. P. and Oudh is pronounced free to a considerable extent from the excess that characterizes the novel Icarian flight in many other parts of India. But "there is a tendency—probably a growing tendency—to imitate the violent style and the unreasoning methods of the Native Press elsewhere." "It is, in no sense of the word, a representative press, need and greed being its main features It is difficult, however, to believe that the uninterrupted and increasing circulation of newspapers, habitually imputing to the Government of India the basest designs, and to its officers the most unscrupulous conduct, can fail in course of time to create among very ignorant people, such as are the masses here, a strong feeling of hostility to a Government, which is confidently and, so far as they can see, without contradiction stated to be animated by such motives and served by such subordinates. All that can be said at present on the subject is, that the ignorant classes seem so far to have formed and retained juster conceptions on the subject than those who have assumed the mission of instructing them."

General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for 1888-89.

THIS Report is submitted by Mr. C. E. Tawney, C.I.E., who was officiating for Sir Alfred Croft. He defines the object of an annual report as two-fold—(1) to apprise Government of the general aspects and results of the operations for the year; (2) to serve as a record for future reference. For the former purpose the report need not go so fully into details as for the latter; and for the latter it would seem to be sufficient if a full report were prepared every alternate year. Mr. Tawney's view accords with Sir Steuart Bayley's wishes on the subject, and has, at Sir Alfred Croft's instance, been adopted in the state paper before us, which has been ably compressed, without sacrifice of materialities.

At the close of the year the number of pupils borne on the rolls of the different educational institutions in the Province was 1,482,150, being 29,205 more than in 1887-88. The increase has been at the rate of 2 per cent, and is held to correspond fairly with the supposed annual growth of population. But while the proportion between those who receive some form of instruction and the quite illiterate has, on this supposition, remained stationary, a marked expansion of higher education and a growing demand for it are noted. Moreover, a much more satisfactory feature is a growing inclination to pay for it. As a

set off to this gain, it has to be deplored that no appreciation of the uses and values of primary education has yet been shewn by the masses. Mr. Tawney estimates that only one boy in four, and only one girl in fifty-seven is borne on the rolls of any school at all; and a considerable number of the children registered as under instruction, leave school without having really learnt to read and write.

The Bengal Government's nett expenditure for the year amounted to Rs. 19,10,927, falling short of the sanctioned estimate by Rs. 76,404. The receipts, however, exceeded the estimate by Rs. 85,014—an increase, chiefly due to cash recoveries of previous years, and to increase in fee receipts. The increase of Rs. 3,814 in expenditure on Government schools is attributable to increased charges sanctioned for the Calcutta School of Art. We should be very far indeed from grudging the money spent on this school, if we could think that Art in Bengal is in any way advantaged by its existence. But is it?

We quote from paragraph 5 of Sir Steuart Bayley's Resolution on Mr. Tawney's Report as follows :—

The accounts of inspection work are, so far as the inferior grades of inspecting officers are concerned, indicative rather of physical activity, than of thorough work. In Shahabad the Deputy Inspector is reported to have been on tour for 318 days, and to have visited 536 schools *in situ*; in Chupra a Sub-Inspector on an average travelled 21·2 miles and visited 5·6 schools per diem, in addition to 116 schools examined by him in central gatherings; while the Education Clerk of Manbhoom, in his capacity of *ex-officio* Sub-Inspector, and having only the primary schools of the Sudder sub-division to inspect, covered a distance of 2,243 miles in 85 days. The incompatibility of haste with useful inspection work is painfully clear, and the Lieutenant-Governor regrets to see the rapidity with which Sub-Inspectors have moved, attributed in many cases to a desire to earn travelling allowance: it is imperative that extravagant and perfunctory touring should be not only persistently discouraged, as Mr. Tawney remarks, but positively prohibited. The precaution against tours being arranged otherwise than with a view to the public service suggested in last year's Resolution, was a rule prescribing the submission for approval beforehand of programmes of intended tours: this plan is said to have been tried without success in some districts, and is condemned as impracticable by the Officiating Director of Public Instruction and a majority of Circle Inspectors. It would, no doubt, impose an inconvenient burden on the superior officers of the Department: but the Lieutenant-Governor must insist that the abuse, of which so many instances are given in the report, shall be checked in this or in some other way. It is noticed that the Officiating Director, while clearly indicating where sub-inspecting officers have erred, makes no mention of any disciplinary orders issued by Inspectors, or the retrenchment of extravagant bills for travelling allowance.

Mr. Tawney considers that the conduct of the pupils is deteriorating, and attributes this to deficiencies in subordinate masters and increasing competition—unfair competition. In a single issue of a Bengali newspaper, he says, “there appeared advertisements from not less than seven High and Middle schools offering various pecuniary inducements to boys who might choose to join the first class of any one of them. This system of stealing pupils is, I fear, on the increase.” By way of remedy, Mr. Tawney suggests the drastic measure of altogether prohibiting unlicensed education.

The number of Law students in Bengal has fallen considerably, though that of Medical students has risen : just the converse of what is happening in Bombay. In the Calcutta Medical College 5 female students read for the University degree in medicine, and 10 attended the special certificate class. At Cuttack, two ladies attended Dr. Bovill's lectures.

There were 71 European schools with a roll of 6,682 pupils against 71 with 6,541 in the previous year. Amongst Mahomedans the advantages of English education seem to be better appreciated year by year, although the progress made in this direction is slow, and unremitting attention to the subject on the part of departmental officers is enjoined.

Report on Public Instruction, Punjab, 1888-89.

ALTHOUGH a passing allusion is made to the delay in the submission of this Report, on account of the indisposition of the Head of the Department, the Lieutenant-Governor is pleased to record that very satisfactory progress has been made throughout the province.

Two new colleges were established, and there was a slight increase in the number of undergraduates on the Arts side, though there was a reduction in the number attending the Oriental College. We are glad, however, to note a substantial increase in the number of public schools, and of scholars on their rolls, so that a falling off in the number of private and indigenous schools of less than six scholars need not be a matter for regret.

There was a nett increase of expenditure, amounting in round numbers, to Rs. 1,90,000, chiefly incurred on Arts Colleges, Primary and Secondary Schools for boys, Secondary Schools for girls, scholarships, and "other charges," *i.e.*, buildings, furniture and apparatus. We do not think that the increased expenditure should be found fault with ; specially since the returns show a large increase of tuition fees. In Native Schools and Colleges, we note with satisfaction that the rates charged in the Lahore Government College are considerably higher than those prevailing in other parts of India. Colonel Holroyd, Director of Public Instruction, suggests that the results of the Punjab University examinations show considerable fluctuations, the most remarkable being a decrease of one-half in the number successful in the B. A. Examination, and an increase of 57 per cent. in the number successful in the Entrance Examination. The proportion of successful candidates is, however, in all cases much less than it ought to be, owing to the exceptionally high percentage of marks in each subject required to obtain a mere pass, and the great fluctuations in standard,

which cause a wholesale failure sometimes in one subject and sometimes in another.

Not much can be said at present about the results of the experiment of female education in the Punjab; but some progress has been made, and much is hoped from the future. In the case of European schools, the examination results show a decided improvement: excellent work having been done in the Lawrence Asylums at Sanáwar and Murree. The newly awakened desire for more advanced education on the part of the Mahomedan community is being maintained. The Jubilee scholarships established for Mahomedan boys are much appreciated, and the progress made by the Aitcheson Chiefs' College has been on the whole satisfactory.

On the relations of the local self government system of the Punjab to education, we quote from Sir James Lyall's Resolution:—

The Director of Public Instruction has stated that the attitude of Local Bodies towards education is not in every case such as could be desired. This is no doubt the case, and the Lieutenant-Governor trusts that all officers of Government in the Civil and Educational Departments, will do their best to improve things where this is required. Unless an example of interest is shown by Government officers themselves in such a matter, it can hardly be expected that the Local Bodies, in the backward parts of the Province, will fully realize their duties in this respect; and His Honor therefore attaches considerable importance to the occasional inspection of schools by all Government officers, and especially by Tahsildárs. Colonel Holroyd has reported that an improvement has taken place in the inspections by Tahsildárs, but is evident that more still remains to be done, and Sir James Lyall desires to commend the subject to the earnest attention of all Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners. The fact that Rs. 90,000 have been spent by Local Bodies on school accommodation during the past year, and Rs. 27,000 on school furniture and appliances, speaks well for the interest shown by many of such Bodies on whose revenues there are necessarily many urgent claims besides those of the Education Department; but, on the other hand, the Director is obliged to record that some of the largest Municipalities of the Province show great unwillingness to provide sufficient educational funds, and that there is often great delay in replying to educational references. To some extent Deputy Commissioners must be responsible for shortcomings in the latter respect, and it is not satisfactory that it should be noted in paragraph 153 of the Report, that certain Deputy Commissioners of the Jullundur Division failed to support the Department in sending properly qualified students for instruction in the Jullundur Normal School. The Lieutenant-Governor would also be glad to see the spirit of interest in educational progress further encouraged in the case of various classes of the community and individuals. What can be done in this way is shown by the establishment by the Arya Samáj of the Daya Nand Anglo-Vedic School and College at Lahore, and Colonel Holroyd has especially noticed the liberality of the people of Jullundur in offering rewards and prizes to students. The provincial list of such rewards is not, however, nearly so long as the Lieutenant-Governor would like to see it; and Sir James Lyall agrees with the Principal of St. Stephen's College, that it is far from creditable that in a wealthy city like Delhi, no gentlemen of position and means are found to show a real and practical interest in the excellent College which the devotion of the Delhi Mission is creating for one of the chief intellectual centres, if not the chief intellectual centre of the Province.

Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department No. CCLXIII.

THE Report on publications issued and registered in the several provinces of British India during the year 1888, would have better fulfilled the purpose for which they are presumably intended, had they been edited. As they stand, they are painfully cockeyed, although cyclopædically, and Lord Brougham-like very confident about everything.

School books and cribs, new and resuscitated dramas of sorts, poetry and fiction of the Reynolds order, unhealthily spiced, are predominating items in the list. Religion holds its own as a controversial power; and conservative orthodoxies and heterodoxies continue to wrangle in print, much as they have been doing for the last half century. The Bombay Registrar, we note, classes translations of the Purans under the heading 'Miscellaneous,' along with copy slips and mathematical calculators! One book of Marvadi poetry (unnamed) "points out the great religious merit of abstaining from suppers."

The moral of a collection of Kanarese tales is, we are told, that a man who does not make over to a Brahman anything he has promised him, becomes after death a jackal, "and has to unearth dead bodies for his maintenance." A novel feature of the Christian publications of the year is, it seems, the appearance of a number of works designed to prove that Hindoos are Jews, and many of their rites and ceremonies counterparts of Jewish ones. Well, the Red Indians of America, Afghans, Englishmen, and others, have had their turn of worshipfulness as representative relics of the chosen people, why may not Hindus have theirs.

Theosophy, judged by its publication record, would seem to have lost ground in India. In spite of, possibly because of, the approaching Bombay Congress, political books were few; and we are glad to note they are less rabid than usual. There are no Scientific works recorded, unless one reckons school book under that heading; or Cookery books. The Madras Registrar of books however prefers "Art" for these latter; and brackets them with Thomas's *Tank Angling in India*. The same gentleman informs us that "Lamb's tale of *As you like it*" has been translated in Tamil; and has been at the pains to prepare a statistical table to prove "how little use is made of the vernaculars in teaching English, as compared with the use made of the vernaculars in teaching Sanskrit."

Philosophy is represented only by reprints: a coming Hindu revival in this direction is again suggested, as it has been so

many times suggested of late years. Perhaps German and English endeavours may bring it about some day or another; or as Dr. Bhandarkar, quoted in the Bombay Report as an authority, puts it—"the many wars that have been fought in Europe since 1855, and are likely to be fought during the next twenty years, have, or will have for one of their causes, the discovery of Sanskrit."

History, save in the form of school books, —does not appear to find favour. One Registrar heads his remarks on the subject "History including Geography." In Bengal, Baboo Hara Prasad Sathi is of opinion that the most important *historical* work of the year was Sir D. Mackenzie's "Russia." That gentleman will probably be surprised to find his record of travel thus catalogued.

Sri Mati Har Devi, amongst other contributions to the literature of the Panjab, published, what is described as "An amusing description of the Jubilee of the Queen Empress, as observed in London." Two works "of more than ordinary merit" by two Bengali ladies are commented on. One of these is *Hugtir Imambari*, by Swarna Kumári Devi, the other *Laland Mukur*, of which it is written:—

The authoress modestly declines to give her name to the public. The principal character in this work is a lady speaking in the first person. It is a realistic work, full of minute details of things. It describes with great skill the tortuous and crooked ways of the younger members of a great Hindu zemindar family in the mofussil, some of the details of which, as described by the authoress, hardly befit the writing of a modest Bengali lady.

In Burma 81 publications were registered during the year as against 142 in 1889. No cause for this falling off has been discovered. Two medical books are of interest, as being the first publications in Burmese that treat of European methods of surgery and medicine.

Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency, during the year 1888-89.

FROM the prominence given in the summary, of the administrative work of the year, that the Maharajah of Travancore was invested with the insignia of the Star of India, "in the Banqueting Hall, Government House, Madras," a down-right man might infer that this august renaissance of the traditions of chivalry was deemed by the writer the most important event in the history of Southern India for 1888-89. But such is not the case, as in Section II we are informed that the peishcush payable to Government by permanently settled estates during the year ending June 30th 1888 amounted to Rs. 50,78,013 upon an area of 19 million of acres; the shrotriem jodi

tenure during the same period amounted to Rs. 6,67,238 on $1\frac{3}{4}$ million acres, and the Revenue from land held under the Ryotwári revenue to $386\frac{1}{3}$ lakhs of Rupees. The total amount of occupied ryotwar land (excluding South Canara) amounted to nearly $20\frac{1}{2}$ millions of acres—the highest figure on record. The sum advanced under the Land Improvement Loans Act rose from Rs. 7,820 to Rs. 79,959, and under the Agriculturists Loans Act from Rs. 24,532 to Rs. 30,568. The question as to how far hereditary claims to village offices should be subordinated to considerations of efficiency was decided, and a rule laid down “to the effect that the holder of a village office must *prima facie* be able to perform its duties!”

Two Acts were passed by the Legislative Council: I. of 1889 consolidating and amending the law relating to the Courts of Village Munsiffs. By virtue of it (1) the pecuniary jurisdiction of Village Courts is raised from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20; (2) the District Munsiff is given powers of revision over the Village Courts; (3) the hereditary character of the office of Village Munsiff is no longer asserted. Act II of 1889 amends the Madras Jails Act of 1869 by conferring on Jail warders the same powers of arrest with regard to non-cognizable offences punishable under section 14 and 15 of the Madras Jails Act of 1869, as are now possessed by Police officers under section 57 of the Criminal Procedure Code of 1882. As to the working of the criminal procedure, we are told that out of 381 cases of murder reported (the largest number on record for the last ten years) only 92 were prosecuted to conviction. Of what avail then “that detective results, under special and local laws, were very satisfactory?” In no less than 70 cases murderers committed suicide. The tale of dacoities, robberies, and housebreakings increased; an increase partly accounted for by the scarcity in the Northern Circars. Nevertheless it is written that “the Presidency town alone was free from dacoity;” and yet, in the teeth of an extraordinary increase in crime, it was found possible to reduce the number of district Jails from 17 to 16, and of subsidiary Jails from 310 to 307. Who, then, was responsible for the supererogation of Jails that clearly existed theretofore? Out of a total Jail population of 35,612, 76 died, 33 escaped, 27,834 were discharged “or otherwise disposed of,” whatever that may mean; we are glad however to find that there was less than the usual detention of under-trial prisoners. This is a hardship not always sufficiently considered by Anglo-Indian, and still less so by native officered Courts. “As usual, persons engaged in agriculture formed the largest proportion of the total number of convicts received.” Why should this be “as usual,” we wonder? The conception and theory would point to quite the opposite conclusion. Of 11,183 convict inmates

of Jails during the year, 9,281 were wholly illiterate. Figures—when they are real ones, not whitewashed simulacra—are the most cogent of facts.

The only territorial change in Civil Courts consisted in the abolition of the Palni Hills Munsiffs Court. With regard to the working of the Civil Courts the salient features of the year are thus summarized :—(1) a continuance of the decrease of suits in Village Munsiffs courts, (2) a general increase of original and appellate litigation in other courts, (3) a decrease in the disposal of suits by Village Munsifs, (4) a general increase in the disposals by other judicial officers, and (5) a falling off in the amounts realized in execution of decrees in the Mofussil courts, probably due to the introduction of the Debtors' Act, VI of 1888. The results of the year in registration were however the best ever attained. *Apropos*, during 1888-89, 110 joint stock Companies, with a nominal capital of Rs 62,90,830 were wound up; 29 out of these 110 had no capital at all.

There was a considerable decline in the number and tonnage of the vessels that visited the port of Madras, and the number of casualties to shipping was less than last year; "there were (only) 10 strandings, 1 foundering 2 collisions, and 14 miscellaneous accidents." It is held that a satisfactory amount of work was done on the piers of that white elephant, the Madras Harbour Works, the proof adduced being, that Rs. 6,17,226 were spent during the year. The total outlay in the Irrigation Branch of the Public Works Department was Rs. 60,39,341—that is to say nearly ten lakhs more than in 1887-88 and 3,259 acres more of land were irrigated. The working expenses of the Madras Railway were less than those of the preceding year; a result mainly attributable to less expenditure on locomotives, which may, or may not, after all be a saving. The gross earnings of the South Indian Railway showed an increase of $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, due to development of both passenger and goods traffic. 406 miles were added to the telegraph mileage of the Presidency, bringing up its total to 4,899 miles. In the Postal Department a general advance over the figures of the previous year is noted. No important Sanitary works were undertaken during the year; but numerous minor improvements were effected. Vaccination was made compulsory in six additional towns. The accommodation available for Criminal Lunatics was again found insufficient, while French cooly recruiting for Guadaloupe was found to be unpopular. From the section headed "Instruction" we glean that, for the Higher Examination for women 234 candidates appeared, of whom 15 passed. The numbers examined and passed in the previous year were 188 and 104 respectively. The number of students in the Madras School of Arts declined, and

the work of the school is adjudged less satisfactory than before. The number of vernacular newspapers and magazines advanced from 77 in 1887 to 87 in 1888 ; of these, 44 were in Tamil, 11 in Telugu, 11 in Canarese, 5 in Malayalam, and 16 in Hindustáni. The paper having the largest circulation (6,000) was the "Satyathúthan," an organ of the Christian religion in Tamil. 54 of the publications dealt with matters of general and political interest.

SECTION VIII.—ARCHÆOLOGY.

The month of April 1888 was occupied in further excavations in the Amarávati stúpa, and at the beginning of the next field season, Mr. Rea returned to Amarávati from Madras. Several important discoveries were made in the districts of Nellore and Kistna, notably the remains of a second stúpa at Franguladinne, a complete Buddhist chaitya at Chízárta, a very ancient stúpa at Garikapád agra-haram, a stúpa and monastery at Pedda Maddúr, and a chaitya of an unusual type at Guntapalli. The discovery at Pedda Maddúr is especially valuable, as mention is made of the monastery in the travels of Hiouen Tsang, and the locality has long been sought for in vain.

The town of Bezvada was added to those administered under the District Municipalities Act, IV of 1884, making a total of 55. No comment is offered on the working of the Act. The total number of clergymen in the Diocese of Madras on the 31st March 1889 was 267, of whom 39 were Government chaplains, the figures in the previous year being 252 and 39 respectively. The appointments during the year numbered 26, *of which 20 were those of native clergymen.*

The year 1888-89 witnessed a further decline both in the total number of Muhammadans in superior Government service and in the proportion borne by that class to other employés. The decrease was however slight, the total number falling from 6,103 to 6,079, and the percentage to other public servants from 16.82 to 16.78 ; moreover the proportion of Muhammadans to the total population is only 6.2 per cent. The decline occurred mainly in appointments carrying salaries between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 10,000. More than 86 per cent. of the posts held were in the police.

Monograph on Wood Manufactures in the Punjab, 1887-88.

MR. O'DWYER C.S., has written a monograph on Wood Manufactures in the Punjab, the only fault one can find with which, is that it is too exhaustive, too much *ab ovo*. That, however, is a fault on the right side. At the bottom of page 5 a stand is made, and the P.W.D. come in for some well deserved censure;—

Native demand for work of high quality is likely to continue to diminish. The Public Works Department have at least done this—they have effected an entire change in the public taste. Now public taste regards the small rooms and the floridity of the old house ornamentation as

remnants of its barbaric prime, and turns to the simplicity of the dāk bungalow as its model of perfection. Simplicity is no doubt to be desired, but plain doors with frames of different sizes, windows and doors that would not shut, or if once shut refuse to open,—characteristics of the average tarkhán's work,—do not go well with a severe simplicity, which, to be tolerable must be perfect as regards joinery and finish.

Wood engraving is still, it seems, carried on in every district. But in none can the trade be said to be thriving :—

Did wood-carvers form a separate craft they would be badly off indeed but such is not the case ; any ordinary tarkhán will turn out carved work of some artistic value. Mr. Kipling traces the secret of this wide-spread facility to the training which all carpenters receive in their youth. They go to work when very young, employ the leisure left them from helping their master or father in carving ornaments in relief on spare pieces of board, beginning with the dog tooth notching that used to be popular in English artistic furniture thirty years since. From this they are promoted to foliated mouldings and diapers, and taught to draw the pillar in all its parts and the mehráb.

Interesting particulars are also given as to the economics and manufactures of lacquer-work, turnery, and Kamangiri.

With regard to furniture for native houses, we are told that the making of bed legs is a very considerable industry. As to European furniture, "the larger the station, the better the prices." Gujrát is the most famous manufacturing centre. Prices vary from 24 Rs. for the most elaborate form of easy-chair, brass bound and covered with leather, to 3 Rs. for an ordinary respectable something to sit upon. The wood inlay-work of Hoshiárpur has a high provincial reputation. The ivory used is generally the waste stuff left by the turners of ivory bangles, worth from 2 to 4 rupees a seer. Mr. O'Dwyer writes :—

It is probable that in future the most profitable field for the Hoshiárpur inlayers will be, not so much in the production of finished articles for European uses,—in the devising of which the native workman is obviously placed at a great disadvantage by his complete ignorance of Western usages,—but in the production of panels and details to be afterwards worked up by European cabinet makers. The fault of the inlays is a certain triviality and insignificance of design, and its too equal and minute distribution.

The brass in inlay of Chiniot is pronounced superior to that of Hoshiárpur both in design and finish. The strips of brass are not, strictly speaking, inlaid, but rather laid on at the latter place, being retained in position by nails—and the slightest warp in the wood has fatal results in a bulge.

In the manufacture of musical instruments and their appurtenances, 26 hands are employed at Amritsar city, 12 at Hoshiárpore, 9 at Multan, 6 at Bhera, and 3 at Jullundur. Wages range from 6 to 8 annas a day. The woods used are toon and walnut, the tools employed, those of the ordinary carpenter. The manufacture of pipe stems is carried to the

greatest perfection in Delhi and Amritsar. The latter place turns out the best cricket bats. Walking sticks made at Bhera are fitted with a crutch of translucent stone resembling jade, and said to hail from Bokhara.

Annual Returns of the Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries in the Madras Presidency, for the year 1888.

THESE Returns are submitted by Dr. G. Bidie, C.I.E., Surgeon-General with the Government of Madras, together with a report on the working of Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries for 1888. At the end of the previous year there were 344 such institutions in existence; during 1888 one hospital and 30 dispensaries were opened; so that on 1st January 1889, there were in all 375 of them at work: a ratio of '01 per 1000 of population. Owing to the depletion of the Civil Medical Department consequent on the War in Burma and the annexation, the impossibility of securing the services of the necessary number of commissioned Medical Officers, Assistant Surgeons and Uncovenanted Medical Officers have been put in independent charge of large stations and districts. Dr. Bidie regrets the necessity for this:—

The duties of a District Medical Officer have been greatly increased during the last few years, owing to the large numbers of new dispensaries which have been opened, and to the necessity which exists for careful supervision of the subordinates in charge of them as well as for the general sanitary superintendence of towns and villages. For the efficient discharges of these duties, higher abilities, both professional and administrative, are required than can be expected to be usually found in men of the Assistant Surgeon or Apothecary class, and whom experience shows to be as a rule, unsuited for large independent charges. I would therefore urge the necessity which exists for some means to be adopted, whereby a sufficient supply of Medical Officers qualified for employment in the Civil department may be secured, either by increasing the authorized establishment, or facilitating the transfer of officers from the Military department, whose services are not indispensably necessary for military requirements.

There was an increase of 137,810 in the total number of patients treated: women and female children were in the proportion of 35 per cent. of the total number of applicants for treatment. From a statistical table given, it would appear that, corresponding with the number of dispensaries opened throughout the Presidency, there has been a steady decrease in the number of cases of malarial fever treated. This, however, is explained as due to improvement in the professional qualifications of the agents in charge of small district hospitals and dispensaries, and consequent greater accuracy in diagnosis of disease.

The great and apparently growing prevalence of syphilis is noted. Dr. Bidie is constrained to suggest that—

In all the institutions in which in-patients are received, there should be a distinct ward or shed for females admitted for these ailments, as their presence in a general ward is obnoxious to respectable women and may frighten them away from hospital.

The years total expenditure amounted to Rs. 9,80,720-0-8 or Rs. 91,509-3-6 more than in 1887. But then 31 new dispensaries were opened, and the number of patients treated increased by 137,810. The average cost of dieting each patient in the various hospitals in the presidency was 2 annas 5 pies, and the income is said to have been "exactly what was required to meet the expenses of the dispensaries," a happy equilibrium, out of which, however, a sum of Rs. 2,226 was derived from "sale of securities" which can hardly be called a source of income. The European and native donations amounted to Rs. 31,079-10-5—nearly 78 per cent. more than 1887.

Report on the Police of the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for the year 1888.

FROM the Report before us we learn that the sanctioned strength of the Police Force was 23,380, and that, at the end of the year, it was short of the sanctioned strength by 277 officers and men. This would give a total of 23,103. The Resolution accompanying the Report, for some doubtless sufficient but unexplained reason, ignores the end of the year, and gives 23,380 as the figures for the beginning: discharges and retirements account, we suppose, for the difference. Similarly, the Resolution refers to "the estimated cost" of the force as being Rs. 41,06,546, when Colonel Knyvett had already, in the body of his Report, given details of actual expenditure amounting to Rs. 40,82,462.

Service in the Police is no more popular than it was last year, or five, or even ten years ago. But how should it otherwise be, when the force is undermanned and overworked, and "the average pay of the Constable has, during the last five years, slightly diminished," while necessary expenses,—at any rate in the neighbourhood of large towns,—are much greater" than they were. The rural police resent and obstruct any approach to discipline; while municipalities object to pay for efficient street lighting, by which means alone can effective watch and ward be maintained at night. The reserves, which used to exist in each district, have been "reduced to mere skeletons" and we are told that—

The question of strengthening and, if need be, of reorganizing the reserves, has for some time engaged the attention of the Lieutenant-Governor, and His Honour has at present under consideration a proposal, submitted by the Inspector General, to increase the reserves of twenty-three districts at a total annual cost of Rs. 43,128. As regards the general question, the Lieutenant-Governor entertains no doubt that an increase to the district reserves is a desirable object in itself, and the real difficulty is to devise a scheme which will practically give security, and which will yet not prove too costly, regard being had to the very narrow margin of

the income of these provinces available to the Lieutenant-Governor for new expenditure. The subject, however, is not free from difficulty, apart from the question of cost. For example, in Behar the reserve police and the station police are practically homogeneous, and transfers can be made from one to the other, and in case of necessity, the reserve could be strengthened by drafting men from the station police. In Bengal and Orissa, however, the locally recruited, police—and the majority of the force must be locally recruited, for only men familiar with the language can efficiently perform the civil duties of a police—cannot be made to learn their drill as armed men, and cannot be drafted into the reserve except as a punishment. They resent having to practice drill: they—especially those who can read and write, look upon duty in the reserve as a degradation, and as reducing them to the level of illiterate sepoy, and if it is forced on them, they resign. The question is thus in reality one of very considerable difficulty; and as Mr. Veasey, who has given considerable attention to the question, has lately rejoined his appointment, the Lieutenant-Governor wishes to have the advantage of his opinion before passing orders in the case.

Report on the Administration of Bengal, 1888-89. Relations with Tributary States and Frontier Affairs. Calcutta: Printed at the Bengal Secretariat Press. 1889.

THIS is a State paper deserving attention, dealing as it does with subjects too much lost sight of in the urgency of more popular claims. It details the history of the Bengal Government's political affairs and relations with Tributary States, giving a succinct account of the causes that led up to the late War in Sikkim, and to a sort of Court of Wards protectorate of Hill Tipperah, and of the management of the Tributary Mehals of Orissa and Chota Nagpore. We note there was an advance in education in two of the latter; but in the others, the statistics furnished indicate retrogression. The whole of the tribute levied, including arrears, was however realized during the year. Sir Steuart Bayley writes:—The deplorable death of the junior Maharani of Sirgooja, caused purely through want of the timely aid, which, owing to her sex, the hospital assistant was not permitted to render, is an occurrence which accentuates the importance of the noble scheme inaugurated by the Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava.

In connection with the Chittagong Hill Tracts record, it is noteworthy that the savages who murdered Lieutenant Steuart, and who have for years relied on the inaccessibility of their country for impunity from punishment for raiding and cattle lifting, never expected that an effected armed force would actually be sent against them; but so soon as they realized that an expedition was really taking the field, and meant business, several independent chiefs came to our assistance with guides and labour. They, moreover, attended the Durbar held afterwards at Lungleh, and have since been sending

information regarding Shendoo movements. It goes without saying that contract labour proved cheaper and more effective than the cooly corps at first employed with the expedition.

His Honor's visit to Cooch Behar in February 1889 impressed him most favourably with the system of government pursued in that erewhile wild country. He was gratified at the business-like manner in which the proceedings of the Council were conducted. The Treasury was found to be efficiently managed; in the jail, which is maintained on a less extensive scale than most district ones in Bengal, prisoners seemed to be well fed and properly attended to. The country, generally, presented a prosperous appearance, and the native officials were apparently well educated and intelligent gentlemen.

General Report on Public Instruction in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the year 1888-89. Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press. 1889.

THERE was marked development in the demand for University education in the year under review. Not only did the number of pupils in the College classes rise from 1,041 to 1,426 (nearly 40 per cent.), but nearly the whole increase is contributed by students who are independent of Government support. In Secondary education there has been an equally marked development in the income derived from private or quasi-private sources, though without any corresponding increase in the number of students. In Primary education only has there been increase of expense to the State, but not to any great extent; while contributions from Municipal funds and fees, which may be accepted as one of the best criterions of an effective demand, have remained nearly stationary. Nevertheless, Sir Auckland Colvin is not pleased with the Report, which besides being unpunctual, is appraised as irrelevantly long.

At the first examination of the Allahabad University, held in March 1889, the proportion of successful candidates for the B.A. degree was very high—69 per cent.; and in the First Arts, 48 per cent. passed. The Lieutenant-Governor learns with satisfaction that the Syndicate have ruled that Principals of Colleges have not the option of withholding from candidates, who have satisfied the conditions laid down by the University, permission to present themselves for examination. The Anglo-Muhammadan College of Aligarh did well at the University Examinations: the success of Queen's College, Benares, is also pronounced remarkable. In the Law classes, the Canning College takes the lead. Physical education, athletics, and outdoor games are being taken to kindly.

There were 70 Aided schools for natives, of which 37 were under Missionary Societies. The number of their pupils is nearly twice as great as that of the State schools, and shows a slow but fairly constant upward tendency. The total annual cost of each pupil is also less than at the public institutions. At the Vernacular Middle schools, notwithstanding a reduction in the number of pupils, a distinct improvement in the quality of instruction given is evident. As to the Native Girls school, we are told that the number of pupils does not decrease, and there has been an appreciable rise in the attendance of Hindu girls. The number of European girls at school has risen from 575 to 790. It is held probable that the falling off in the number of boys in the Allahabad High School may be accounted for by a simultaneous increase in the numbers at the schools in Mussoorie and Nyni Tal.

*Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the
Bombay Presidency for the year 1888-89.*

THE Report on Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for 1888-89 is a record of continued progress. There are now in the Presidency 5,82,653 pupils under instruction in 11,732 institutions, public and private; the public institutions number 3,642 with 507,752 pupils, while the private institutions number 3,090 with 75,101 pupils.

The number of boys under instruction has risen from 500,872 to 522,049; of girls, from 53,526 to 60,804. The total expenditure was Rs. 5,453,328, an increase of nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs in round numbers on the previous years figures. The increase in expenditure from *Provincial Funds* is ascribed to larger grants for buildings, increase from *local cess* and *Municipal rates* to larger grants-in-aid. The expenditure on Arts and Professional colleges, primary schools and scholarships entrusted to Provincial Funds, has fallen off. The decrease on the former is partly "due to the absence of officers on leave," (!) partly to withdrawal of the grant to the Fergusson College.

The older schools in Sind show a falling off, which need not be regretted since it is due to the development of Middle schools and to the opening of two new High schools in Hyderabad. Both these schools charge "fairly high fees," and the fee receipts in the three Government schools show a slight advance. One new Arts College, founded by the American Mission, was affiliated to the University during the year, making a total of ten such institutions in the Presidency. The college fee receipts have risen from Rs. 66,545 to Rs. 70,824. In the Bombay Law school the attendance rose from 187 to 203; in the Grant Medical College it fell from 219 to 182.

The moral drawn is that the Medical profession in Bombay is overstocked; the Principal's corollary is, that the standard of admission to the College should be raised.

In Native States 30 new schools have been opened during the year. The Kathiawar schools are specially noticed for their excellence. One of 800 boys at Bhaonagar is held up as a model of what such a school should be.

The Rajkumar College at Rajkote continues to flourish, and well deserves its success. The Talukdari school at Wadhwan, the Scott College at Sádra, and the Sirdars class in the college at Kolhápúr are well spoken of. The Governor in Council notices with satisfaction that the number of Mahomedans receiving instruction has risen in the Colleges from 30 to 43, in Secondary schools from 1,790 to 1,945, and in Primary schools from 60,688 to 66,938. The Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute has made a good start, with 280 pupils on the rolls.

Report on the Income Tax Administration in the Panjab for the year 1888-89

IN the Punjab, the Financial Commissioner's Office is unable to make its Departmental returns of Income Tax collections tally with the amounts shown by the Accountant-General; wherefor, on the principal, we suppose, that facts are better than theories, the Financial Commissioner's returns have been accepted in the Secretariat, and according to them, the collections made during 1888-89 were Rs. 10,41,950.

Deducting charges, the nett amount realized is set down at Rs. 10,24,348, an increase on last year's operations of, in round numbers, Rs. 65,000, "due, no doubt, to more careful assessment, and to continued prosperity in the province." The Lieutenant-Governor is of opinion that in most districts a comparatively fair standard of taxation has now been attained. At the same time His Honor is disposed to agree with the conclusion formed by Mr. Parker and the Financial Commissioner, that there is a tendency to let off rich assesseees too easily, and to spread the net too wide in including assesseees with smaller incomes.

Progress Report of Forest Administration in the Punjab for 1888-89.

THE Report on the Forest Administration in the Punjab for 1888-89 is a concise and business-like one. The year under review, like that of its predecessor, though uneventful, has been one of steady progress. The area of gazetted forests has been increased by the addition of 9,383 acres, and there

were, at the close of the official year 1888-89, 5,634 square miles reserved, unreserved, and unclassed State forests in the Punjab, which yielded a surplus revenue of four and a half lakhs of rupees. The conservator however complains of the paucity of officers for the work he is set to do, and His Honor hopes that it will be possible to take early steps to remedy it.

Report on the Administration of Bengal, 1888-89.

THIS record of a year's administration is eloquent of many anxieties and a vast amount of unpretentious hard work. Sir Steuart Bayley had his "baptism of fire" at Gnatong, and afterwards marched the whole length of the affected area where the crops had failed in Orissa and Behar, with the view to encounter possible famines and economic disturbances infinitely more formidable than frontier savages. Against the surprises of famine, however, our provincial railway systems now afford an almost adequate provision in Behar, so that absolute famine was fended off, though the year was one of scarcity, poor crops, and high prices, as well as of more than normal alarms from cyclones, earthquakes, floods, and capricious rainfall. With the view therefore of promoting the emigration of daily wage labours from Behar to Burma, Mr. Nolan and Mr. Finucane were deputed to visit the congested tracts, and a scheme for leasing waste lands in the new territory, to capitalists willing to introduce labour from Behar, is under consideration. But the stolid fatalism that does duty for a "Home, sweet Home" sentiment, militates against its development, though something may, it is hoped, yet be done, if only a modest beginning be made. So, at least, the statistics of emigration to the British colonies and to the tea districts would seem to indicate; for, in the year under review, we learn that recruiters for the Demarara Agency enlisted 4,781 persons, and those for Trinidad and Surinam 3,362 and 1,321 respectively. About emigration to the tea districts, we are told that the distinction between recruitment by means of garden sirdars and through contractors, has lately diminished, as most of the former now work under local agents, who are, to all intents and purposes, themselves contractors.

The total Imperial receipts aggregated Rs. 13 50.24,000, and there was a net increase in Imperial revenue amounting to Rs 77,01,000, which occurred under ten major heads, *viz.*, Opium, Salt, Stamps, Excise, Customs, Assessed Taxes, Forests, Registration, Receipts in aid of superannuations, &c.,

and Stationery and Printing. There was, on the other hand, a falling off in Land Revenue, Interest, and Miscellaneous. The increase in the Opium revenue amounted to Rs. 34,45,000, and was entirely due to the higher price realised per chest at the Presidency auction sales, and that of Rs. 41,98,000 in the case of Salt, was the result of the higher rate of duty levied with effect from the 19th January 1888. An advance of Rs. 20,000 in the receipts from Excise occurred chiefly under Ganja, Tari, and Opium, and the increase of Rs. 2,48,000 in the Customs receipts was caused by larger clearances of spirituous liquors and the levy of a duty on petroleum. The unfavourable harvests of the year appear to have led to the presentation of more numerous documents for registration, and the consequence was a considerable advance in the fees. The falling off of Rs. 2,61,000 noted against Land Revenue was due to short collections on account of the scarcity of the season, and also to the failure of the Burdwan Raj estate to pay its heavy March instalment before the close of the year. The decrease in the case of interest was the result of the provincialization of the receipts from interest on provincial advances and loan accounts, and that shown under the heading "Miscellaneous" occurred in respect of the recovery of insurance and other charges on English stores. Deficient harvests led, in one way and another, to an increase in expenditure of more than 25 lakhs of rupees. Happily, there had been a surplus of Rs. 13,10,067 carried to the good from 1887-88, and the State Railways earned a profit, thus reducing the net deficit for the year to only Rs. 4,80,000. The total value of the sea-borne trade of the Bengal Presidency, foreign and coasting, rose from Rs. 76,06,20,355 to Rs. 78,17,13,654,—an increase which has been continuous during the last four years. The proportion of the foreign trade of Calcutta carried through the Suez Canal was 65·7 per cent, and its total value exceeded that of any previous year. An increase of, approximately, 2½ crores in the import trade of Calcutta was chiefly contributed to by cotton goods, with which the market was overstocked. 9,269,483 cwts. of raw Jute were exported from this port, the highest figure ever reported. The export of gunny bags was also larger than in any preceding year. The steady decline in the importation of gold was arrested, and in the case of silver there was an advance of Rs. 10,99,043 in imports, and a falling off of Rs. 1,79,736 in exports. The total *value* of the registered trade of Calcutta with the interior, by rail and road, inland steam navigation, and country boat transit, fell from Rs. 82,37,42,018 to Rs. 71,21,01,145, although there was a rise in the total *quantity* of imports and exports.

The total expenditure during the year 1888-89 on Civil and Military Works in the Lower Provinces, amounted to Rs. 83,43,527, but, in addition to this outlay, the Public Works Department also spent Rs. 4,21,591 on account of works connected with the Military operations in Sikkim and on the Chittagong frontier, which was debited direct to the Military Department. Imperial works were maintained at a cost of Rs. 6,68,031, which was within the estimate, but, as in the previous year, Provincial expenditure, which reached the figure Rs. 39,04,303, exceeded the amount budgetted for.

On major Irrigation works the total capital outlay (direct charges) not charged against revenue up to the end of the year 1888-89, amounted to Rs. 5,88,83,503, while the indirect charges not charged against revenue reached the figure of Rs. 16,58,558. There was an increase in the receipts under the head of Canals, and a decrease in the working expenses, the net result being a deficit of Rs. 23,721 only, in place of the dead loss of more than four lakhs reported at the close of the preceding year. The Midnapore and Sone Canals were profitable, but in the case of those of Orissa and Hidgellee, the expenditure was in excess of the receipts. On minor works and navigation the total expenditure amounted to Rs. 1,44,473, against Rs. 3,36,245 expended in 1887-88.

A first step towards the efficient settlement of the much vexed excise question was taken, in the appointment of an Excise Commissioner for Bengal. Income-tax collections in Calcutta advanced 17·4 per cent. There was a considerable decrease in the number of deaths from cholera, but the mortality was higher from fever and small-pox than in the previous year. The Sanitation crusade has been insistently pressed on Municipal attention all over Bengal and Behar. Archæological operations were again prosecuted, though on a limited scale. The measurements of the buildings at Gaur, together with a series of illustrative photographs, were completed in the course of the year, as also were the measurements of the buildings in the ancient fortress of Rohtasgarh and of the tomb of Sher Shah at Sasseram. The southern half of the district of Gya was explored by the Assistant Surveyor, but no discoveries of any importance were made. In the drawing branch the diagrams of the Adina Musjid and of the great Musjid and some minor buildings in Rajmehal were finished, and progress was made in the preparation of the Rohtasgarh sketches. Of works of conservation there was nothing of particular importance undertaken.

During the session 1888-89 the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal had under consideration six Bills. Four of

these were passed, and received the assent of the Governor-General, *viz.*, Act I (B.C.) of 1889, an Act to provide for the sanitation of emigrants during their passage through Bengal to the labour districts in Assam ; Act II (B.C.) of 1889, an Act for the protection of the right of fishing in private waters ; Act III (B.C.) of 1889, an Act to enable the Commissioners for making Improvements in the Port of Calcutta to lend the Corporation of Calcutta a sum of money, and Act IV (B.C.) of 1889, an Act to provide for the appointment of a Mahomedan Burial Board in Calcutta, and to make better provision for the interment of persons other than Christians or Mahomedans.



CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Sacred Books of the East. Translated by various Oriental Scholars and Edited by F. Max Müller. Vol. XXXIII, Part I, Narada-Smṛiti or Nâradiya Dharmasâstra. Oxford. The Clarendon Press. 1889.

WE have to thank the Oxford Clarendon Press for vols. XXXIII and XXXIV of *The Sacred Books of the East* series. Part I of Vol. XXXIII deals with the Nârada-smṛiti or Nâradiya Dharmasâstra, Part II with fragments of Brîhaspati. Our notice in the present number will be confined to the Narada. Apart from their intrinsic value and interest, as containing a very full exposition of the whole range of Ancient Hindu Law, the latter have a special claim to consideration, owing to their close connection with the Code of Manu, and as a strong link in the chain of evidence by which the date of the most authoritative Code of India has been approximately determined.

More interest will nevertheless be felt probably in Nârada, to which the attention of European savants was first attracted nearly 100 years ago, it having been quoted by Sir William Jones in the preface to his translation of the Code of Manu. Sir William, however, was not acquainted with the larger and more authentic of the two versions of Narada's work,—the one translated by Dr. Julius Jolly in the volume now lying before us,—the main *raison d'être* for which is the need for modifying some of Sir William Jones's imperfectly informed statements. It appears from the present work that Narada refers to four, instead of three successive versions of the Code of Manu, in 100,000 slokas, or 1,080 chapters, in 12,000, 8,000 and 4,000 slokas, the authorship of which is assigned respectively to Manu, Narada, Markandeya, and Sumati, the son of Bhriga, the Nârada-Smṛiti being described as an abridgment made by Narada of the ninth or Vyavahâra (legal) chapter of the original Code.

The mythical nature of the preface to the *Nârada-Smṛiti* is sufficiently apparent, Dr. Jolly says ; but he has found reason to admit that a higher degree of probability is legitimately attachable to the alleged connection between Manu and Nârada than he was previously inclined to believe in. In an introductory chapter he gives his reasons for a cumulation of faith. As to the nature of them, the exigencies of space compel us to refer our readers to the book itself. We have room, however, to note that Dr. Jolly thinks the "so-called Nârada" was far from offering in his own work a mere slavish reproduction of the doctrines of Manu's Code :—

On the contrary. The *Nârada-Smṛiti* must, he says, be considered as an independent, and therefore specially valuable exposition of the whole system of civil and criminal law, as taught in the law schools of the period. It is in fact the only *Smṛiti* completely preserved in MSS., in which law, properly so-called, is treated by itself, without any reference to rules of penance, diet, and other religious subjects ; and it throws a new and an important light on the political and social institutions of Ancient India at the time of its composition. Several of the doctrines propounded by Nârada are decidedly opposed to, and cannot be viewed in the light of developments from the teaching of Manu. Thus, *e. g.* Nârada advocates the practice of Niyoga, or appointment of a widow to raise offspring to her deceased husband ; he declares gambling to be a lawful amusement, when carried on in public gaming-houses ; he allows the remarriage of widows ; he virtually abrogates the right of primogeniture by declaring that, even the youngest son may undertake the management of the family property, if specially qualified for the task ; he ordains that, in a partition of the family property, the father may reserve two shares for himself, and that, in the case of a partition after his death, the mother shall divide equally with the sons, and an unmarried sister take the same share as a younger son ; he lays down a different gradation of fines from those laid down by Manu.

On such essential points as these Nârada would scarcely have ventured to impugn the infallibility of the version of the Code of Manu current in his day, unless he had good authority for so doing in other early works or dicta attributed to the first legislator of India. The *Nârada-Smṛiti* agrees in many important points, especially in the law of evidence, with the *Dharmasâstras* or *Smṛites* of Yagnavalkya, Vishnu, Brihaspati, Kâtyâyana, and Vyâsa. It may be a little older than the three lastnamed works, which belong to the latest productions of the *Smṛite* epoch of Hindu law, but its legal rules and judicial theories have a decidedly more advanced character than either Vishnu's or Yagnavalkya's. Again, the judicial trial described in the well known drama *Mrikhakatikâ* corresponds, in all essential features, to the rules laid down in Nârada's chapter on "The Complaint ;" and, if these are contemporaneous productions, that is another reason for assigning the composition of the former work to the fifth or sixth century A. D. It is also noted that Nârada regards sexual intercourse with a female

ascetic, pravragitâ as a kind of incest, and that in the earlier Indian dramas, the position of nuns and monks is highly dignified. Last, but not least in Dr. Jolly's estimation, the European term Dînâra, *i. e.* denarius or δηνάριον, so important for the purposes of Indian chronology, occurs repeatedly in the Nârada-Smṛiti.

Taking all considerations into account, Dr. Jolly is of opinion that the composition of the Nârada-Smṛiti cannot be referred to a more recent period than the fifth century A. D., or the sixth century at the very latest.

Under the heading "Proceedings at Law," there are 132 divisions, nineteen of them concerned with the law of inheritance, 25 with recovery of a debt, three with assault, three with "abuse," one with gambling with dice and betting on animals. "Judicial procedure has four feet, four bases, four means; it benefits four, reaches four, and produces four results. . . . It has eight members, eighteen topics, a hundred branches, three efficient causes, two modes of plaint, two openings, and two issues." And these are severally differentiated and expatiated on with a circumstantiality reminding one of the mediæval schoolmen's care to determine the precise number of angels able to dance on the point of a needle of undetermined circumference. Since even ordeals may be rendered nugatory by artful men, it is especially needful that no mistake should creep into the procedure, with regard to time, place, quantity, and so on. To District Officers, the following directions to a Judge are commended:—

* 39. Where the rules of sacred law and the dictates of prudence are at variance, he must discard the dictates of prudence and follow the rules of sacred law.

40. When it is impossible to act up to the precepts of sacred law, it becomes necessary to adopt a method founded on reasoning, because custom decides everything and overrules the sacred law.

The most pertinent moral of these contradictorinesses would appear to be—*fay ce que voudras*. Equally with one possessed by a demon, a weather-prophet is an incompetent witness. Do not meteorological departments to this day attest the truth of this dictum? Whenever a heinous crime, or a robbery, or adultery, or one of the two kinds of insult has been committed, a Judge should not enquire too strictly into the character of witnesses. How markedly these instances show the character of Hindoo thought, and manner of judicial action in archaic times, which has filtered down to Hindu society in our own day, yet little impaired it by the last century's leaven of Western-world ideas. Narada enjoins that a perjured witness shall spend his nights in the same way as a wife who has been superseded, or a man who has been worsted playing

at dice. Dr. Jolly, unlike some latter day apologists for canonical Hindu treatment of women in archaic times, is of opinion that the condition of a superseded "wife must have been far from enviable."

The terrible mischiefs wrought by the perjurer were evidently appreciated by the Judges and the people. Manus and his commentators wrote for. Are they so now? The perjurer, it is written, "kills five by false testimony concerning (small) cattle; he kills ten by false testimony concerning kine; he kills a hundred by false testimony concerning horses; (and he kills) a thousand by false evidence concerning a human being."

Where there is conflicting evidence, plurality of witnesses is to decide the matter. Where, however, an equal number of witnesses, possessed of a good memory is found on both sides, their evidence is to be considered entirely valueless, "on account of the subtle nature of the law of evidence." Wherever a litigant has been abandoned by his own witnesses through the act of fate, "the sages have declared" that he cannot be absolved—not even by performance of an ordeal.

The account given of the different ordeals legally sanctioned is interesting, especially as showing how much more considerate they were than those in vogue in Europe. Not only were women and children exempt from the ordeal by water for instance, but cowards also. "Such persons perish immediately after diving, because they are declared to have hardly any breath." Nevertheless, "nothing is more capable than water and fire of showing the difference between right and wrong."

The chapter treating of the mutual duties of husband and wife is of special interest. Section 4 is worth making a note of. It runs thus:—

4. When a Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, or Sûdra takes a wife, it is best for him to take her out of his own caste; and so is a member of her own caste the (most eligible) husband for a woman (of any caste).

Section 18 claims to embody a law promulgated by the Creator of the world, and declares that if a man is potent with another woman but impotent with his own wife, that wife shall take another husband. Elaborate provision is made with a view to prevent any Hindu maiden going down to death with the curse of virginity upon her. Inter alia, the parent or guardian who, when a maiden has reached maturity, does not give her in marriage, "commits the crime of killing an embryo as many times as her period of menstruation passes by without her having a husband." Breach of promise of marriage had its justifications. Thus—

30. Should a more respectable suitor, (who appears) eligible in point of religious merit, fortune, and amiability, present himself, when the nuptial gifts have already been presented (to the parents by the first suitor), the verbal engagement (previously made) shall be annulled.

A man is not punishable as an adulterer for having intercourse with the wife of one who has left her without her fault, or of one impotent or consumptive. One more quotation, and we have done :—

* A maiden's son, whose father is unknown, and whose mother is not legally married (to his father), shall give a funeral ball (of rice) to his maternal grandfather and inherit his property.

A most valuable contribution to Western-world knowledge of the wisdom of the East is this translation of Dr. Jolly's, amply illustrated and elucidated as it is by critical and explanatory notes and comments.

Kant, Lotze and Ritschl. A Critical Examination, by Leonhard Stählin, (Bayreuth.) Translated by D. W. Simon, Ph D. (Tüb.), Professor of Theology in the Congregational Theological Hall, Edinburgh; Author of "the Redemption of Man: discussions bearing on the Atonement;" "the Bible an outgrowth of Theocratic Life," &c., &c. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38, George Street. 1889.

FROM the translator's preface to this easy running, clear rendition of German thought into English, we gather that, during the last fifteen or twenty years, a controversy has been raging in the Fatherland, "which like some Indian cyclone has had for its pivot the theological system of Albrecht Ritschl." Dr. Simon of Edinburgh has deemed it expedient to import this cyclonic controversy into the world of religious dissent in Great Britain: hence the genesis of the book now lying before us.

Ritschl had often asserted that his theological opponents could not touch him until they could preliminarily overthrow the philosophical principle on which he had consciously and purposely based his system. Herr Stählin took up the challenge. The philosophical basis in question was a theory of cognition. Ritschl postulates, as a necessity to scientific enquiry, that every enquirer should start, and should proceed in harmony with a definite one: for his own theory he professed to be chiefly indebted to Lotze. Lotze being essentially a Kantian Kant as well as Lotze, had to be included within the range of the enquiry. And that again led to the inclusion of the Neo-Kantian movement.

There can be no doubt that, alongside with Herbert Spencer, who has many points of affinity with Kant, Lange, and Lotze, these latter are exerting in our day a wide amount of influence on philosophic thought in England and America. Hegelian reaction, such as it is, testifies to it. But Dr. Simon has warrant for his belief that most of our men of light and leading

in natural science and psychology, are more or less consciously disciples of the thinkers criticised in this book, especially as regards the point on the examination of which Herr Stählin expends his strength—namely, their theory of cognition. Special interest attaches therefore to this new critical examination into a field of speculation and argument much debated upon, and of great philosophic importance. It will, moreover, commend itself to religious circles not much concerned as a rule with systems of philosophy. And it may be well for Britons to perpend an instance of German fondness for doing what they themselves are prone to neglect—following principles up to their legitimate logical conclusions, to wit.

Although much has been advanced on physiological grounds in favour of the difference between perception and its real or supposed cause, it has not been demonstrated that, when there is an appearance, nothing really appears. Common-sense thinks appearance to be an activity, or a result of the activity of a something that appears; and that when something appears—shows itself, comes forth—it really does show itself, really does come forth.

Why not? The noumenon really is given, Herr Stählin urges—or gives itself to us in the phenomenon, the thing-in-itself in its appearance. Either this, or else phenomena are subjective illusions, of the reality of which we may, for a longer or shorter period, be fully assured, but which will not stand the tests that a scientific age is sure to apply to them. The starting point is wrong; the initial concession unwarranted.

A learned book, and abounding in subtleties, conceits, and labyrinths of thought; but the upshot and end of all of them, to our thinking is, that as far at any rate as religion is concerned in the matter, faith may do well enough without reason, but when reason tries to justify faith, it fails.

We give one quotation as indicative of Herr Stählin's manner of treating his subject and use of words:—

The world is a sum of conditions on which depends the establishment of the kingdom of God; or, as Ritschl expresses himself, the world as a whole is "the condition of the moral kingdom of created spirits." * But God is the will to produce the kingdom of God as the end of the world; and therefore also to give existence to the means which subserve the realization of this end. But if God is conceived exclusively as the will to produce what actually exists in the world, the conception of God has no other content than the conception of the world.† When we think God, we think that which is thought in the conception of the world, the content of the two conceptions is one and the same, first being thought in God, and then in the world;—In God as an actuality that is willed; in the world as an actuality realized. Or rather, the order is reversed. For we arrive by reflection on the world as actually given, and on the kingdom of God in the world at that which God is; we think back into God, as it were, what we first thought in the world;

* Ritschl, *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, vol. iii. p. 261.

† See Note 38 in Appendix.

and God is accordingly represented as the will to produce that which actually exists in the world. But will is only conceivable as an attribute of a subject that wills ; and Ritschl forbids us positing any such subject in logical priority to the divine volition. For nothing must be thought in God "prior to His self-determination of love," prior to the relation of His will to the concrete purpose or end of the kingdom of God.

Colburn's United Service Magazine, with which is incorporated the Army & Navy Magazine. January and, February 1890.
W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, S. W.

THE number for January is replete with interest for those who are concerned to consider the fighting forces we have at our command both at home and abroad. "The Welsh Border" should provoke profitable argument as to whether Sir Walter Scott merely revived, or *ipso motu*, created his Saracenic imaginings or pourtrayals of a very notable side of romantic history—that which concerned the Crusades. "David Deen" is a tale for the times, redolent of the latter end of the nineteenth century and its conceits ; its morals and moralities are, however, a little mixed, and people who are curious on such subjects must read it, as we decline to be their guide further than the above remarks. The number also contains a contribution from "J. B." on the "Volunteer Force in India, which we commend to our readers, not for anything new that has been said on the subject, but that the whole question is focussed into half a dozen pages. We shall make one extract and have done:—

To the future of the Indian Volunteer force we may confidently look forward, in the knowledge that each year renders it a more valuable adjunct to the Regular forces. . . . It is universally recognized that with a more thorough organization, the Volunteers might set free almost the whole of the British Army in India for service on the frontiers. The maintenance of law and order, the keeping open of communications, and the protection of life and property, are the duties which have been assigned to them by many able Indian authorities. Two main questions, arising out of this programme, await solution : how to increase the number and the efficiency of the Volunteers.

According the last Census Report, we have in India upwards of 50,000 adult European and Eurasian males who are not enrolled as Volunteers. The utilization of this vast reserve of power has yet to be determined on. Some advise the formation of regular corps of Eurasians, to be set apart as the garrison army of India. . . . Others advocate an increase in the advantages connected with Volunteering, such as the compulsory training of boys in military exercises, State education of the children of Volunteers, and so forth. The great obstacle to the realization of these plans is the attendant increase of expenditure. . . . In England the Volunteers are assisted by public contributions ; in India such rich patrons are practically non-existent, and Government, in their stead, is the benefactor. To it the Volunteers look for amelioration, and not it vain. . . .

A proposal, however, which finds many supporters, and which may before long crystallize into a reality, is that which advises the enforcement

by law of a light militia service. The late Sir Charles MacGregor was its ardent exponent, and his views coincide with those held by many of our leading Indian authorities. The great argument in favour of this scheme is, that every able-bodied European in India should know how to use a rifle, and have an elementary knowledge of drill. This knitting together of the community was necessary to our forefathers, who laboured hard to maintain themselves in India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the adoption of gentle pressure is unlikely to meet with opposition if national emergency requires it. When this system is once decided upon, it could be carried into execution without delay, for every European and Eurasian in India is registered.

But few people are aware, we fancy, that Sir Philip Sidney, thirteen years before he met with an early death on the field of Zutphen, was duly instituted and inducted to the living of Whilford in Flantshire, and was Sir priest before he was Sir knight. Major the Hon. Harold Dillon, F. S. A. affords this quaint information in a paper on "Soldiers and Sailors in the Tudor Exhibition," which appears in the number for February. In it will also be found "A Short History of the Green Jacket," in which army men, militia men, and Volunteers alike should be interested.

The National Review. January and February 1890 London: W. H. Allen & Co., 13 Waterloo Place, S. W.

THE *National Review* for January does special honor to poets and poesy. Foremost is a critical note of Robert Browning's life work by that distinguished critic Mr. H. D. Traill. Then we have an article on the Persian poetry of Avicenna, by Chas. J. Pickering. Lastly, a laudatory notice of Tennyson's new volume of poetry, by Alfred Austin. Of the vigourously analytical author of "The King and the Book" Mr. Traill writes:—

He worked on his peculiar line as a thorough artist, if ever man did; but the art which came naturally to him was not specifically that of the poet. He was not, he never had been, studious of the external beauty of poetic form. Had he been so, he must have run his pen through scores, through hundreds of lines which he has allowed to stand. Command over the beauty of external form was a faculty which he was slowly acquiring at the moment when popularity overtook him; and from that moment, or so I think it must appear to an impartial judgment, he ceased to strive after it. That he was a real poet in the sense of having written real poetry, will be admitted by every competent critic. But it will have, I fear, to be added, that no poet so eminent as Mr. Browning has ever left behind him so large a body of brilliant, profound, inspiring literature, wherein the essential characteristics of poetry will be sought in vain.

This deliverance will shock the *de mortuis nil nisi bonum* school; but that is all the more reason why more sensible people should not accept it as sound criticism. Through the

mouth of Bishop Blongram, Mr. Browning himself once upon a time discoursed pleasantly of

Wit that peeps
Over the glass's edge when dinner's done,
And body gets its fill, and holds its noise
And leaves soul free a little.

What further apology or commentary than that does Persian poetry stand in need of?

As to the Laureate's new volume of poems, interpreted for us by Mr. Alfred Austin, we will only quote one sample approved of by him:—

Once at the croak of a Raven who
 crost it,
A barbarous people,
Blind to the magic,
And deaf to the melody,
Snarl'd at and cursed me.
A demon vexed me,
The light retreated,
The landskip darken'd,
The melody deaden'd,
The Master whisper'd
 'Follow The Gleam.'

Mr. Austin thinks that the 'gleam' has been followed during these late years and in this last volume, to the world's and mankind's advantage. We don't.

Men who worship Political Economy as one of the "exact" sciences, and men who don't; men who are doubtful between the conflicting oracles of Mill, Bonamy Price, the French school, and half a dozen other leading or misleading lights or profundities; men who dare to arraign self-satisfied Manchester Freetraders who denounce Trades Unionism, Fair-traders, who uphold strikes, cognoscenti—and know-nothings, all are hereby advised to read and make a note of an article in the *National Review* for February, by Sir Guildford Molesworth, which is entitled "Political Economy and Strikes."

The Fauna of British India, including Ceylon and Burma.

Published under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Edited by W. F. BLANFORD. London: Taylor and Francis. Red Lion Court, Fleet Street. 1889.

WE have to thank the publishers for Vol. II of the *Fauna of British India*, given to the world under the auspices of the Secretary of State for India.

That portion of the *Fauna* which relates to fishes is completed by the publication of this volume, which, written by the well-known specialist Dr. Francis Day, C. I. E., has been since his death revised and edited by Mr. W. T. Blanford.

The book is, and must be, a standard work with naturalists. It is admirably got up, the engravings being especially worthy of commendation.

'Things of India' made Plain : or, a Journalist's Retrospect.
By W. Martin Wood, formerly Editor of the "Times of India" and of the "Bombay Review." To consist of four Parts. Part III.—Section 5. London : Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row. Calcutta : Thomas S. Smith. Bombay : Thacker & Co., Limited. Madras : Higginbotham & Co. 1889.

N EARLY three years ago we had the pleasure to notice the 2nd Part of Mr. Martin Wood's "Things of India Made Plain." Part III, Section 5, now lies before us. In it the veteran journalist discourses of Finance—Imperial, Provincial and Anglo-Indian. Of the currency question, Mr. Massey's first budget, the Income-tax and its alternatives, the Home Charges (superficial and substantial), Sir Richard Temple's Deficit, and "those costly barracks," George Kellner on Military Expenditure, the Abyssinian Expedition, Silver and Prices ; England, and the Indian Debt, and the Imperial guarantee required, loose Banking and long usance, the Bengal opium revenue, &c., &c.

These are but a few of the topics of which Mr. Wood shows us the complexion and bearings a generation ago. We have instanced them by way of sample of a variety of subjects dealt with in the 448 pages of printed matter of which his present contribution to current history consists. It has been Mr. Wood's aim in this collection and republication of his erewhile contributions to the Bombay Press, to explain how it happens that so little progress has been made in dealing with India's financial policy, and to indicate how great is the need for more earnest and continuous effort in this direction. He accurately observes that, in modern States, finance underlies or dominates every phase of policy—it ought to, at any rate ; and Mr. Wood is all for practicality.

He hopes that this publication may induce a few men of light and leading "to turn to the study of this eminently Imperial subject, and devote fresh energy to its investigation. The plan of this work aims at evoking thought on the part of the reader."

The excerpts in the book being the outcome of direct contact with the financial history of modern India, should, it is suggested, when supplemented by reference to authoritative records, be found useful in working out that process of persevering examination by which alone Indian finance, and its bearings, can be fully understood. Mr. Wood thinks—"It will probably be considered that amongst the more useful of

these selections are those that deal with the proceedings of the Select Committee of 1872-73, of which no report was presented, though a full Index was compiled by the late Mr. E. B. Eastwick, at the request of the then Secretary of State for India—Sir Stafford Northcote. Though the procedure of that Committee was badly arranged, its inquiries covered a very large portion of the whole field of Indian finance; and—as illustrating the reference made above to the lack of continuous progress in this subject—it may be remarked that few of the questions then raised have yet been settled; so that the ‘interned,’ though not interred records of that Committee will have to form the starting point of that thorough and authoritative investigation into Indian affairs, which, though often promised, yet remains to be entered upon. These extracts also serve to recall many interesting personal reminiscences of eminent men now passed away, including, besides the two above mentioned, Sir Bartle Frere, Lord Lawrence, Professor Fawcett, Sir Charles Trevelyan, and others scarcely less notable.

The Fauna of British India, including Ceylon and Burma.

Published under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Edited by W. T. BLANFORD. Birds. Vol. I. By Eugene W. Oates. London: Taylor and Francis, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. Bombay: Thacker & Co., Limited. Berlin: R. Friedlander & Sohn, 11 Carlstrasse. 1889.

THAT well-thumbed old favourite, Jerdon’s “Birds of Indian” is not to be altogether superseded, many of us will be glad to hear, by Mr. Oates’ corrected-up-to-date and most valuable contribution to the history of the Fauna of British India.

In a preface to the work Mr. Blandford gracefully admits that—

In one respect the volume now published falls short of the work just named. The limits assigned to the number and size of the volumes in the ‘Fauna of British India,’—limits in the necessity for which, much as I regret their existence, I am obliged to concur—have precluded the addition of any save the very briefest notes on habits, migration, folk-lore, and other interesting points, the inclusion of which, in Jerdon’s work, added so greatly to its attraction.

On the other hand, the classification adopted by Jerdon was obsolete even when he wrote, and was in many respects inferior to that employed by Blyth, thirteen years previously, in his ‘Catalogue of the Birds in the Museum of the Asiatic Society’ (Calcutta). Unfortunately this faulty classification of Jerdon’s has become so closely associated with the Indian Ornithology of the last quarter of a century, partly from the general use of Jerdon’s work as a text-book, partly from the employment of his serial numbers, with interpolated additions, in all Mr. Hume’s writings, that many Indian ornithologists are probably unacquainted with the important additions to our knowledge of bird-classification made by Huxley, Garrod, Forbes, and other writers, and, it may be feared, will not welcome the changes that

have become necessary. It may be hoped that the facilities for the determination of specimens afforded in the present work by the generic and specific keys and by the woodcuts, will serve to mitigate the regrets of those who are attached to the old system of classification.

In the foregoing extract Mr. Blandford has said, much better than we could have, all that is necessary in the way of introduction to this scholarly guide to Indian Ornithology. It remains only to note that the work put forward has evidently been most conscientiously and carefully performed, that perspicuity and condensation have been happily combined, and that the accompanying illustrations are capital. The volume commences with descriptions of the crow tribe—those chartered libertines we cannot help liking, though they are such nuisances sometimes—and finishes with details of the peculiarities of the no less favourite family of Mynas.

Madrasiana : by W. T. Munro, Philomath. Third edition—reprint. Madras : Higginbotham and Co. By appointment in India to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, 1889.

MADRASIANA is a reprint of the Rev. W. M. Taylor's contributions to the *Neilgherry Excelsior*. Mr. Taylor was born in 1796, and landed in India in 1814-15. He remained in the country for four years, keeping his eyes and his memory actively employed.

Returning to England he studied for the ministry in a Dissenting College, and came out again to Madras in the service of the London Missionary Society. But he was ordained under the auspices of the S. P. G. Soon afterwards he married a wife with money, and for the rest of his long life, (he was 82 when he died) occupied himself in literary pursuits.

His mind, however, seems always to have retained an ecclesiastical bent. Perhaps the most interesting part of the book before us, is that concerned with the esoteric history of Madras churches and chapels. The author seems averse to gossip, but none the less retails a good deal, and insinuates more : *e.g.*, and as illustrating Mr. Taylor's style, here is an extract about the Fort church :—

The Governor's fine family—the Elliots, still occasionally attended with their head ; occupying the front of the gallery before the organ. The Mayor's pew remained ; and the last incumbent, ex-Mayor, occasionally attended, seated therein ; till ousted by dividing it, and appropriating the upper half to the Bishop's seat ; while the lower half became tenanted by the Town Major's lady : her fingers covered with rings, the presents, as scandal whispered, of the then Commander-in-chief. It was curious to see Bishop Middleton seated one day, and the lady on his right ; with only a slight partition between. The seat appropriated to the Members of Council was a plain rattan-bench with a *prie dieu* in front, on the right side of the pulpit, then in the centre. To do them justice, they rarely occupied it. Once I am sure I saw them ; but then a Bishop was in the pulpit. There were three "bloods" in those days—Campbell, Mason, and Turnbull, of the Civil

Service, who occupied a seat midway down, and on the left of the pulpit ; who also dressed alike ; the most conspicuous feature being a stiffened damask towel under their chin, forcing their eyes to keep an angle of twenty or thirty degrees with the horizon.

Ladies at that time—Mr. Taylor eschews specific dates—frequently went to Church in a cap and veil. At St. Mary's "a General's daughter wore a cap bedizened with scarlet ribbons." Mr. Keating, the chaplain, "was a very handsome man." The first Archdeacon appointed to Madras is said to have owed his preferment to the fact that he had studied Arabic ; a language which, the powers that were, deemed likely to be of great use in the Carnatic.

Here is an æsthetic cum moral criticism, apropos of St. George's cathedral :

The two monuments to Heber and Corrie are censurable, not merely for so-so workmanship, but for utter mistakes as to propriety. Half naked, under aged girls kneel before Heber for confirmation. Corrie is seen resting one hand on the head of an almost naked native boy, who is upright. Now, Europeans, East Indians, or natives, are never presented for confirmation till over fourteen or fifteen years of age. The young native women are *usually* exemplary in their dress with hoods.

The essays on Siniatic inscriptions, Haug's Aitareya Brahmanam of the Rig Veda, Paradise, &c., are pretentious, but superficial ; the verses interspersed are puerile ; but as a guide book to Old Madras, a lively gloss on Anglo-Indian manners and customs that have long since passed away, the first half of *Madrasiana* is worth reading.

The Indian Church Quarterly Review. Edited by the Rev. A. Saunders Dyer, M. A. The Oxford Mission Press, 1890. Calcutta.

"A SHORT sketch of the Karens of Burma," is a seasonable help to our better acquaintance with a but little known border tribe in the new dominion. The Rev. E Wordsworth Jones however denies them a similar origin with the Burmese, and finds more racial and religious affinities between them and the Solos in China. Before their indoctrination to Christianity they held that the Good Spirit being good, it were supererogation to propitiate him ; with the Evil Spirit, on the other hand, it was deemed advisable to keep on good terms. Offerings of pigs and fowls and a liberal consumption of shumshoo, were the recognized means of intercession. In the Christian villages mat and bamboo churches have taken the place of the erewhile Nât-houses : and attentive congregations are there, from time to time, gathered together.

The Rev. F. H. de Winton has written an appreciative notice of the life and labours of the late Walter Edmond Matthew, Archdeacon of Colombo.

The paper entitled "The first Bengal Chaplain" affords a quaint, yet not uninstrusive glimpse into the manners and moralities of Anglo-Indian life 200 years ago. The Rev. John Evans, the chaplain referred to, arrived at Hughli, then the chief of the English settlements in the Bay of Bengal, on the 23rd June 1678. Hughli, apparently, seems to have been the least godly of the East India Company's factories in India at the time, if we may judge from the following disciplinary orders :—

For as much as by persons of all professions the name of God ought to be hallowed, his services attended upon, and his blessing upon our endeavours sought by daily prayers as the quality therefore of our plan and Imployment requires and in discharge of our duty both to God and Man, first we do Christianly admonish every one imployed in the Service of the Hon'ble English East India Company to abandon lying, swearing, cursing, drunkenness, uncleanness, profanation of the Lord's Day and all other sinful practices, and not to be out of ye house or from their lodgings late at nights or absent from or neglect morning or evening Prayers or doe any other thing to the dishonour of Almighty God, the corruption of good manners, or against the peace of the Government, but if any will not hear us admonishing then we doe by virtue of the powers derived to us from the Honourable ye Govenour ye Company of Merchants of London trading in the East Indies, and by authority of the King's Majesties Royal Charter to them granted, order and appoint that whoever shall be found guilty of the following offences shall undergo the penalties hereunto annexed —

1. Whosoever shall remain out of the house all night shall pay ten rupees to ye use of the Poore, or sitt one whole day publickly in the stocks.
2. Whosoever shall profane the name of God by swearing or cursing shall pay 12 pence to the use of the Poore
3. Whosoever shall be guilty of lying shall pay 12 pence for ye use of ye Poore for every such offence
4. Whosoever shall appear to be drunk shall pay five shillings for ye use of ye Poore.
5. Whosoever shall be absent from the public prayers morning and evening on the week days (without lawful excuse) shall pay twelve pence for the Poore.

But the Rev. John Evans despite these disciplinary orders, seems to have been more keen on private trading than prayers; and, in the eyes of his employers, "interloping" trading was the one unpardonable sin. So the disobedient parson got into trouble, first with Mr. Hedges the Chief of the "settlement"; afterwards with his masters the Directors of the Company, by whom he was recalled. However, as he married a rich wife, and not very long after he got home, was made Bishop of Bangor, the recall could not have affected him seriously. One William Alley, owner and master of the interloping ship "Lumley Castle," was a great ally of his, and when Master William Alley went to pay a visit to the Military Faujdar at Hughli, he went, Mr. Hedges reports, "in a splendid equipage, habitted in Scarlet richly laced. Ten Englishmen in Blue Capps and Coats edged with Red, all armed with Blunderbusses, went before his Pallankeen, 80 peons before them, and 4 musicians playing on the Weights, with 2 Flaggs before him, like an Agent."

With the pagoda tree weighted down with its golden fruitage before him, it was rough on Padre John Evans not to act the nabob, and find his account in so doing? In the East, more emphatically than elsewhere, to him that hath, is given.

A History of Civilization in Ancient India, based on Sanscrit Literature. By Romesh Chunder Dutt of the Bengal Civil Service; and of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-law; Author of a Bengali Translation of the Rig Veda Sanhita and other Works. In three Volumes. Vol. II. Rationalistic Age. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1889.

THE second volume of Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt's *History of Civilization in Ancient India*, treats of what he classifies as the Rationalistic age, B. C. 1000 to 242. An age of scientific expansion and formalist contraction; of the triumphs of materialism over primitive worship and sentiment; of the subordination of a grandly catholic reverence for nature and its forces to pedantic minutiae of grammar; of poetry to arithmetic.

The latter half of the book is devoted to the life mission of Gautama Buddha, and the more immediate effects of the promulgation and missionary developments and crampings of his gospel of purity, self renunciation, and universal love. This is a portion of his work into which the author has thrown living sympathy; and which has, evidently, been to him a labour of love.

In a modest preface allusion is made to the English translation of the Rig Veda Sanhita commenced many years ago by Dr. H. H. Wilson, and but recently completed by Professor Cowell and Mr. W. F. Webster; and regret is expressed that the author of the history missed the advantage of being able to consult the last portions of this work, before his preceding chapters went through the press. It is sensibly remarked that, in order to an adequate conception of Hindu life and manners in the times into which the turmoil and glamour of the epic age gradually subsided, the Dharma Sùtras and the Greek voyagers and exploiters accounts of India, ought to be read together and connoted, the former as giving an insight into Hindu life and character as Hindus themselves saw it, the latter, as candid and intelligent outsiders views of the same.

About the historic time at which Mr. Dutt resumes his review, the Vindhya range that had remained in the epic period the extreme southern limit of the Hindu world, was crossed, and civilization extended to the banks of the Godavery and

Khrishna, and the new waters of the southern Indian ocean. Concurrently with this expansion, the influences and effects of which on the Hindu mind and character are a very interesting study, we are told that the practical spirit of the age shewed itself in the form which literature assumed. All learning, all sciences, all religious teaching were reduced to concise practical manuals. Brevity is the characteristic of the Sutra literature as verbosity is of the Brahmana literature. Indeed, the writers went from one extreme to another;—verbose prose was replaced by aphorisms, and the proverbial saying which applies to the Sutra literature is often quoted that “An author rejoiceth in the economising of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son !”

As indications of the jurisprudential leanings of the Rationalistic age, we are reminded that its lawgivers were the first to differentiate the legal penalties to which men of different castes were amenable for the same offence; that the relations of a suicide were not permitted to perform funeral rites for him; that in disputes about houses or lands, the depositions of witnesses were preferred to documentary evidence; that it was held axiomatic law that the property of a person (neither idiot or minor) having before his eyes been used by strangers for ten years, belonged to the users. Legal interest on money lent was at the rate of five mâshâs a month for every twenty lent. As to the law of inheritance we read :—

A woman whose husband is dead, and who desires offspring, (may bear a son) to her brother-in law.

Let her obtain the permission of her Gurus, and let her have intercourse during the proper season only.

(On the failure of a brother-in-law she may obtain offspring) by a Sapinda, Sagotra, a Samânapravara, or one who belongs to the same caste.

The chapter on domestic religious ceremonies is mainly interesting in connection with modern survivals. Here is an order of prayer to the Lord of Serpents :—

With the words ‘ May the Lord of the celestial serpents wash himself ! May the celestial serpents wash themselves !—he pours water into it.

With the words ‘ May the Lord of the celestial serpents comb himself ! May the celestial serpents comb themselves !—he makes movements with a comb.

With the words ‘ May the Lord of the celestial serpents paint himself ! May the celestial serpents paint themselves !—he pours out portions of paint.”

It is noticeable that Lakshmi, although now perhaps the most worshipped deity in the popular pantheon, was a goddess unknown to the Rationalistic period. The chapter on social life, especially with regard to the position of women in the social economy, is short but to the point. It commences thus :—A

father who has committed a crime causing loss of caste must be cast off. *But a mother does not become an outcast for her son.* Ancient Hinduism, it is well said, was a living religion which laid down rules for the conduct of arjans, but detested crime and immorality far more than breaches of artificial rules. To caste that has overlaid religion and morality with Pharisaic observances and curious punctilios about trifles that are not one whit concerned really with a man's duty towards his God and his neighbour, Mr. Dutt is a sworn foe. In this connection he sometimes forgets he is a historian and becomes a partisan.

Kapila and Buddha are presented as respectively the Voltaire and Rousseau of ancient India; as ancients who "worked to some extent on the same lines" as these moderns. We will say nothing about the first analogy, but to us, dragging Buddha Gautama's greatness of soul down to the low, mean, selfish, vanity eaten level of Rousseau's appears a sacrilege; a profanity as strained as it is strange, coming as it does from such a quarter. Mr. Dutt seems to endorse the opinion that the philosophic system of Schopenhauer and Von Hartman is a reproduction on a more elaborate but on the same fundamental lines of that of Kapila, on its materialist side, and yet while Schopenhauer tells us that the study of psychology is vain, since there is no psyche, Kapila taught that all external things were formed in order that the soul might know itself to be free. Our historian tells us that it would be historically wrong to suppose that Gautama Buddha consciously set himself up as the founder of a new religion. He was a reformer—much as Jesus Christ was of a Pharisee-corrupted and vitiated Judaism. From first to last he believed that he was proclaiming only the ancient and pure form of that religion which had, in remoter times, prevailed. The essentially distinguishing feature in Buddha's life-work, that which made his tenets a religion, was—his sincere and earnest piety, his world-embracing catholical charity, and (after a few initial doubtings born of the ingrained prejudices of his youthful upbringings) to all womankind too, entire abnegation and subjugation of self, infinite patience, and indomitable perseverance in good works—these were the elements that went to build up and give direction to a character almost unique in the world's history for sublimity. The son of the king of Kapilavastu is the only prophet in that world's history worthy to be compared in character with the Prince of the House of David born in a manger at Bethlehem. In traditions of the birth, speech, and conduct of the former, Mr. Dutt discovers the *fons et origo* of many of those that are embodied in the Christian New Testament, and furnishes arguments in support of this belief. But, in conformity with the main aim of

his history, he is mainly concerned with the generally recognized effects of Buddha's teachings and example on his own times and aftertimes. Sanskrit texts and commentaries, traditions of the elders, Hindu folk tales, the testimonies of history, are all thoroughly ransacked and conscientiously reviewed as means to this end. To it Mr. Dutt contributes, moreover, discriminating sympathy with aryan religious cults and social habits, candour and acumen in criticism, and creditable researches in fields explored by German scientists and philosophic revivalists. For the most part he sticks closely to his text : when he wanders from it he is led away by his ardent love of liberty and equality—which once or twice betray him into mistakes, *e. g.*, in his estimate of modern Greek character. But these, after all, are very slight blemishes—if they are blemishes. Many ardent Liberals will like him all the better for them.

Elements of Logic as a Science of Propositions. By E. E. Constance Jones, Lecturer in Moral Sciences, Girton College, Cambridge ; joint-Translator and Editor of Lotze's " *Microcosmus*." Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1890.

NOT very many years have gone by since Tennyson, in his " *Princess*," dreams of a college—

With prudes for Proctors, dowagers for Deans.
And sweet girl graduates with golden hair,

and was neered at, and held in derision by the Philistines because of his unpractical dreaming. Which contumely notwithstanding, there lies before us to-day a book entitled " *Elements of Logic as a Science of Propositions*," which has been written by Miss Constance Jones, Lecturer in Moral Sciences, Girton College, Cambridge. A commendable book, the chief *raison d'être* for which appears to consist in an objection to recognize Professor Jevons *Elementary Lessons in Logic*, as infallible, and to obviate the difficulties experienced in the use of his book in places where it was used. To furnish therefore a better class book was Miss Jones's initial aim ; but as the work grew under her hands, certain divergences from commonly accepted dogma were found to require an amount of explanation and justification that led to a wider and further reaching development and scope. Simplicity, with clear explicitness—the cardinal virtues of a class book—have, however, been kept well in view throughout the work.

Miss Jones defines Logic as the *Science of the Import and Relations of Propositions*, or more briefly and preferably, the *Science of Propositions*. Logic, she holds, just as much *applies to* and just as little *is* Psychology as it *applies to* or *is* any other

science ; and she objects, when studying the *mental processes* concerned in Inference, &c., to call that study Logic and not Psychology. In any process of reasoning we can only tell, she says, whether our processes have been right, *i. e.* logical, by comparing the proposition which state our results with the propositions which state our data. If we regard Logic as concerned with the elements, import, and relations of assertions expressed in language, we have assigned to it a sphere co-extensive with knowledge itself in accordance with the general recognition of it as *fundamental*, and of *universal application*, and with its ancient name *science of sciences*. The burden of proof lies with those who narrow this sphere, and call it psychological, or metaphysical, or physical, or anything else except logical.

If it be granted that Logic is the Science of Propositions, it should start from the standpoint of ordinary language, *e. g.* the word formal in *Formal Logic* being taken to mean *most general*. Rather a loose definition, it seems to us, Professor Sidgwick's acceptance of it notwithstanding. Our author writes :—

Two assumptions which appear to be involved in ordinary thought are, that (1) the meaning and application of terms is uniform and (2) that which is self evident ought to be believed. That is to say, ordinary thought assumes reason in man, and trustworthiness in language. These assumptions may in any given case turn out to be unwarranted ; but in order to prove that they are so in that particular case, in order even to doubt or to examine that case, we are *bound* to assume them to some extent—at least provisionally. Thus it seems that a comparatively general and permanent faith in the validity of these assumptions is an indispensable condition of intelligent scepticism in any particular instance.

Mill's application of his categories to the Import of Propositions is held to be extremely strained, and the mixture of Formal and Material (non-formal) points of view, very confusing. Categorical Propositions, which in any ordinary sense would be said to assert co-existence, sequence, causation, or resemblance, assert it in virtue of the *content* of the terms (generally of the Predicate) ; and thus understood, there are other categories which might make good their claim to be added to Mill's list ; *e. g.*, the categories of inclusion, exclusion, intersection, coincidence, &c. Then there are the categories of identity (and non-identity) and diversity, which apply directly to all categorical propositions without exception ; the categories of inherence and subsistence, which apply to all adjectival propositions, the category of inference which applies to all hypothetical conditional propositions ; the categories of relations of magnitude, part and whole, and so on. In a concluding note on the ground of induction, our author again disputes Mill's authority. She is no respecter of persons *quâ* persons, and has the courage of her convictions.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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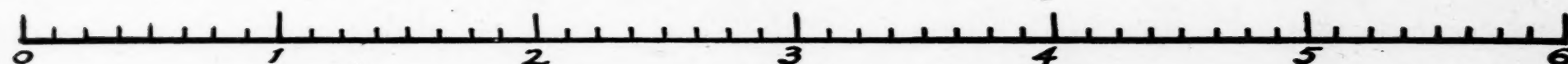
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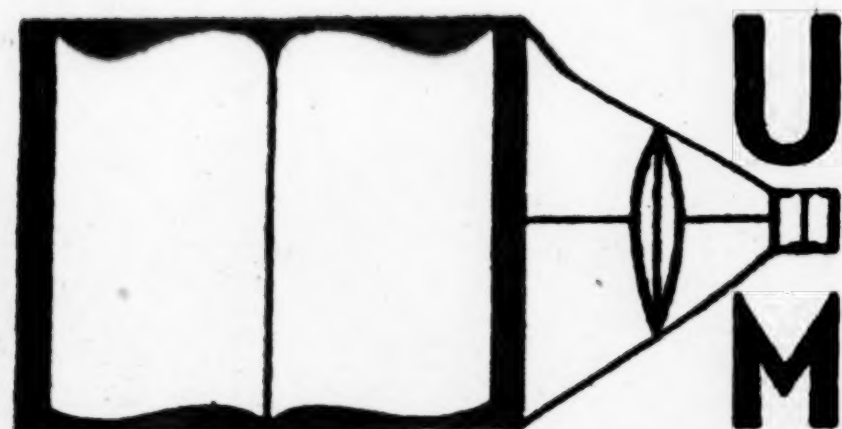
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